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THE FALL OF THE OLD ORDER

A TEXTBOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

1763-1815

BY

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ERRATA

Page 6, sidenote, *for 1717 read 1767*
13, *for Squillace read Squillacî*
14, line 14 from foot, *for to read by*
29, line 6, *for 1777 read 1771*
69, line 3, *for 1755 read 1753*
94, sidenote, *for 1738 read 1788*
136, contents, § 10, *for Paul II read Paul I*
143, sidenote, *for Paul II read Paul I*
198, last line, *for they read men*

Plunket

BOOK I

EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1763-1789

CHAPTER I

THE UNION OF THE BOURBONS

§ 1. Europe at the close of the Seven Years' War. § 2. Ministry of the Duc de Choiseul. § 3. The expulsion of the Jesuits from France. § 4. Quarrel between Louis XV and the Parlements. § 5. The Triumvirate Ministry. § 6. Death of Louis XV. § 7. Portugal under Joseph I. § 8. Spain under Charles III. § 9. Naples under Ferdinand IV. § 10. The Papacy and the Jesuits. § 11. Importance of the Reign of Charles III.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.

George III, 1760-1820.

France.

{ Louis XV, 1715-1774.
Louis XVI, 1774-1792.

Spain.

Charles III, 1759-1788.

Portugal.

{ Joseph Emmanuel, 1750-1777.
Maria I } 1777-1786.
Peter III }
Maria I (alone), 1786-1816.

The Papacy.

Clement XIII, 1758-1769.
Clement XIV, 1769-1774.
Pius VI, 1775-1799.

The Empire.

Francis I, 1745-1765.
Joseph II, 1765-1790.

Austria.

Maria Theresa, 1740-1780.
Joseph II, 1765-1790.

Prussia.

Frederick II, 1740-1786.
Frederick William II, 1786-1797.

Russia.

Catherine II, 1762-1796.

Denmark and Norway.

Frederick V, 1746-1766.
Christian VII, 1766-1784.
Frederick VI (Regent), 1784-1808.

Sweden.

Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771.
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The Ottoman Empire.

Mustapha III, 1757-1774.
Abdul Hamid I, 1774-1789.

§ 1. Europe at the close of the Seven Years' War. Prussia. THE treaties of Hubertsburg and Paris, which in 1763 put an end to the Seven Years' War, were followed by a long period of peace for Western and Central Europe. This was the result of the exhaustion of the combatants, whether victors or vanquished. Frederick II of Prussia, known as 'the Great' from his military prowess, had proved his army to be the best on the Continent, and his small kingdom the equal of leading powers like France and Austria: but his country needed a time of calm in which to recover from the strain of this effort.

Austria. The Empress Maria Theresa of Austria also wished for peace. She was growing old, and felt that she could never make Prussia restore the Province of Silesia, unjustly seized from her, and for which she had fought so many times. Outward friendship did not change her real opinion of Frederick, whom she continued to consider a godless robber; and her chief desire was to maintain the French alliance, which had proved so useless to her in the last campaign.

In this she met with opposition, both from her subjects and from her son Joseph II, who, on the death of his father, Francis I, in 1765, had been elected Holy Roman Emperor, and whom she had then made co-regent with her in her Austrian hereditary dominions. With the aid of her able minister Kaunitz, her policy triumphed during the remainder of her lifetime, and in 1770 she succeeded in marrying one of her daughters, Marie Antoinette, to the heir to the French throne, afterwards Louis XVI.

France. The Franco-Austrian alliance was no more popular in France than with the subjects of the Empress. The French felt they had been dragged into a war in which success would have given Silesia to their ally and nothing to themselves, while its failure had meant their own ruin.

As a result of the Seven Years' War they were left a second-rate power, deprived of Canada and large tracts of territory in India, while England, in addition to these gains, had vindicated her title of 'Mistress of the Seas', and Prussia had gained the military leadership of Europe. It was a humiliating position, and France liked her Austrian ally, who had brought her to this pass, even less than her rivals; but the King, Louis XV, who was then nearing the end of his reign, wished the alliance to continue; and the people were only able to grumble and contemptuously call the young Dauphin's bride 'L'Autrichienne', as an outlet for their feelings.

The chief minister in France at this time was the ^{§ 2. The} ^{Ministry of} ^{the Duc de} ^{Choiseul,} ^{1759-70.} Duc de Choiseul, who ever since he came into office in 1759 had tried to bring about peace; but when he failed in this had done his best to make the army as efficient as possible in the field. He had been hampered, however, by the king's appointment of bad generals, whose only merit often was that they were good courtiers; and by the extravagance of the Court, which spent on idle pleasure the money that should have provided food and clothing for the troops.

When in 1763 the war came to an end, it left Choiseul with an implacable hatred of England, and his chief desire ever after was to break her power. With this object in view, he determined to reform the army and navy; and if the duke cannot be regarded as a great statesman, there must always be remembered to his credit the sound work he carried out in this respect. He abolished the old custom by which captains enlisted their own companies, and made what profit they could out of the bargain: a standing army of the modern type was now called into existence, enrolled by Government officials, and drilled as far as possible on the Prussian model, which was

then the admiration of Europe. A regular staff of doctors was also provided, which, incredible though it may seem, had not existed before.

The change in the navy was even more marked, for Choiseul recognized that England's chief advantage lay in her sea power. The whole strength of the French Marine then consisted of about fifty ill-provided vessels : at the time of the struggle for American Independence, fifteen years later, she had over seventy men-of-war, and fifty frigates, all fitted for action.

By that time the minister responsible for these improvements had fallen into disgrace ; and during his period of office he gained little praise for his reforms and much abuse for his expenditure, which there is no doubt was over lavish. 'The name Choiseul means spendthrift', said Louis XVI some years later.

Choiseul's
commer-
cial policy.

If he spent the national money, Choiseul at any rate added to the amount of wealth in the land ; and the extraordinary contrast was to be seen of a country whose trade and wealth were continually increasing while its Government was fast approaching bankruptcy. This increase was chiefly due to the minister's colonial policy. He cast aside the old idea that the manufactures of the mother country must be protected at the expense of her dependencies ; he aided colonial production in every way, by throwing open more ports, and encouraging the colonies to trade freely, not only with France, but with the foreign neighbours who would give them most in return. Freedom of conscience was also allowed ; even Jews and Protestants were welcomed as settlers if they seemed likely to assist in promoting trade and industry. An instance of improvement may be seen in the case of S. Lucia in the West Indies, which in 1763 was almost without population, but ten years later had 20,000 inha-

bitants. This colonial expansion naturally increased the prosperity of France.

As if in compensation for the losses which she had suffered in the Seven Years' War, France during the peace that followed acquired two valuable possessions without embarking on an international struggle. One was the ^{French acquisition of Lorraine and Corsica.} Duchy of Lorraine, which by the Treaty of Vienna in 1735 had been given to the Polish Stanislaus Leszczynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV, for his lifetime, and now on his death in 1766 reverted to the French Crown. The other was Corsica, which was bought from Genoa in 1768, although its allegiance was not secured till after a hard fight with its warlike people. It is interesting to note that one of the chief followers of the patriot Paoli, who headed the anti-French cause, was the father of Napoleon Bonaparte, the future scourge of Europe. A year after the conquest, Napoleon himself was born a French subject. Had Corsica maintained her independence the later history of Europe and of France would have been very different.

Both these additions of territory occurred during the ministry of Choiseul, but he is less famous for them than ^{Foreign policy of Choiseul.} for his foreign policy. His idea was to unite all the Bourbon houses of Europe—that is to say, the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, and the Duke of Parma—in a defensive alliance against the rest of Europe and England in particular. This was established by the Family Compact of ^{The Family Compact, 1761.} 1761, which was to bear fruit in the joint action of France and Spain in the War of American Independence.

A more immediate result was the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the dominions of the allies. The Bourbons felt themselves threatened by the independence of this Order, which has been described as 'more papal than the Pope himself'.

In the years immediately following the foundation of

§ 3. The
expulsion
of the
Jesuits
from
France,
1717.

the Order, the Jesuits had undoubtedly benefited Europe by their encouragement of learning, through the free schools which they had established; but the influence which they gained in the political world, and over the minds of those whom they instructed, led them to neglect religious for worldly ambitions. Their zeal for missionary work was now tainted with commercial enterprise; their anxiety for the spiritual welfare of kings had become a desire to control the course of politics; and the power which they obtained was rendered doubly dangerous to their enemies by the vow of absolute obedience to the head of his Order which each member took. This had been of immense value in a crusade against moral evil, but when carried into political strife it became a national curse. Even Popes learnt to tremble before a religious force, which was nominally their agent, but often, in reality, their master.

In France their growing unpopularity is shown by the rise during the reign of Louis XIV of the Jansenists, a body of what might be called Puritan Roman Catholics, who protested against the low state of morals, which the altered character of the Jesuit rule not only did not hinder, but even encouraged. In that struggle the Jesuits won, but retribution fell on them during the ministry of Choiseul, when they were finally expelled from France.

The fail-
ure of
Father
Lavalette's
bank.

The immediate cause was the failure of one of their banks, managed by a certain Father Lavalette, who had settled in Martinique as a missionary but had turned his attention to trade. The merchants who were ruined by this bankruptcy appealed to the Order to take up Lavalette's debts; but they refused, declaring him to have acted as an individual. This was a very foolish move on their part, for the case was taken before the secular courts, and amid popular

applause the Parlement of Paris, the chief judicial authority in the land, declared the whole Order responsible for the debt. Matters did not stop at this decision, for the Parlement proceeded to condemn many of the rules on which the Order was founded, and demanded their reform and regulation by the civil power.

The Jesuits
and the
Parlement
of Paris.

In reply, the General of the Jesuits made the famous answer, *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*: 'The Order shall exist as it is or not at all.' The firmness of this attitude only enraged the Government: in 1764 the Jesuits were suppressed, and in 1767 they were finally expelled from France, while in vain Pope Clement XIII declared these acts injurious to the Church and the Holy See.

Throughout the struggle Choiseul had taken the side of the Parlement, and thus the party which supported the Jesuits, and which was known as 'the Devout', became his enemies. In order to bring about his downfall, the members of 'the Devout' joined with the reigning favourite at Court, the Comtesse du Barry, whom they disliked, but found a useful friend. She, too, wished to humble the minister because he had not sought her influence and advice. To these were added those who regarded as a mistake the Austrian alliance, which Choiseul, more to please his master than from his own convictions, had been forced to maintain; and those who thought his liberal commercial policy a national menace.

The means to rid themselves of the minister were found in a quarrel which arose between the King and the national Parlements. These latter were courts of justice, and must not be considered as in any way like the English Parliament, whose name is so nearly the same. They consisted of twelve provincial assemblies and one supreme court at Paris, composed of leading lawyers, and thus in no way representative of national feeling. As it

The
enemies of
Choiseul.

§ 4. Quar-
rel between
Louis XV
and the
Parle-
ments.

sat merely for judicial purposes, the Parlement of Paris could not initiate legislation ; but it claimed a right to control the actions of the Crown by refusing to register the decrees of the King, which could not be enforced in any law court until this formality had been fulfilled. This right of veto was exercised during the eighteenth century more frequently than in the past, and though sometimes a protest against royal tyranny, yet it was very often exerted to defend privileges and customs of which national interests demanded the destruction.

In 1770 the King and Parlement of Paris became involved in a series of quarrels, partly on account of the arbitrary way in which the latter had treated the Jesuits, and also because it had dared to criticize one of the leading nobles, the Duc d'Aiguillon, in his capacity as Governor of Brittany. Louis XV was a weak king, one of the worst rulers from whom France had ever suffered. His Government was at the mercy of first one bad influence, then another ; but though weak he had a very shrewd idea of the value of his own royal authority, and did not mean to surrender it. In 1770 he summoned the Parlement to Versailles to an interview, called a *Lit de Justice*,¹ and ordered the members to register then and there an edict limiting their own power.

Character
of Louis
XV.

Sup-
pression of
the Parle-
ments,
1771.

The Parle-
ment Man-
peou.

The greater number refused, and as they persisted in their obstinacy, the court was suppressed in 1771 and its lawyers banished ; shortly afterwards the provincial Parlements suffered the same fate. Owing to the unpopularity of Louis, the self-interest of the exiles was forgotten, and they were regarded throughout France as martyrs.

The Chancellor of France, Maupeou, who had supported the King, was placed at the head of some new courts of

¹ The *Lit de Justice* received its name from the King's seat, which resembled a bed.

law now set up, and the chief court at Paris, the Grand Council, was nicknamed in derision 'the Parlement Maupeou'. Indeed, so unpopular was the change that the judges, who were nominated by the Crown, were forced to go to their work by side streets to avoid insult, but they suffered from no more dangerous demonstration.

Choiseul, who had been the ally of the Parlements, was involved in their fate, and in 1770 he was accused of stirring up war between the Bourbon powers and England, with the object of making himself indispensable to the King, and was exiled to his country estates. His departure from Paris had something of the nature of a triumphal procession, the streets being filled with enthusiastic crowds, who felt that the fallen statesman, whatever his faults, had been a true patriot. His merits were shown even more strongly in contrast to the blunders of the Triumvirate Ministry which followed. The interest of Europe was at that time centred on the fate of Poland, whom Prussia, Austria, and Russia were preparing to rob of a great part of her lands. It had always been the policy of France to support the independence of Poland, and Choiseul had given some help to the patriots, though not enough to be of real assistance. After his fall France stood idly by and watched the dismemberment of the little kingdom: D'Aiguillon, the foreign minister, would not lift a finger to hinder it. The country indeed was too much occupied with internal disorder to have many thoughts to spend on external affairs: the administration was corrupt, the national debt increased, but there was no open rebellion of the people. They were waiting for Louis XV, once called *le bien-aimé*, to die, in the hopes that reform would follow.

In May, 1774, Louis fell ill of small-pox, and grew steadily worse. Parisians crowded the Church of S. Gene-

Choiseul,
Dec., 1770.

§ 5. The
Triumvir-
ate Min-
istry,
1771-4.

Discontent
in France.

§ 6. Death
of Louis
XV, May
1774.

viève to watch, amid the prayers of the priests, the shrine, which it was the custom to uncover partially when a king lay dying. As the covering was finally withdrawn, the people knew Louis was dead and their faces brightened. One scoffer declared the prayers offered to the saint had been of no avail. 'Nay,' answered another, 'of what do you complain? Is not the king dead?' It was evident France would not submit to another reign of misrule.

The most important event which happened in France during the last years of Louis XV's reign was, undoubtedly, the expulsion of the Jesuits; and this took place about the same time in many of the states of South-western Europe. It was first carried out in the small kingdom of Portugal, where the Order had been found a direct menace to the Government; and there the expulsion was the work of the chief minister, the Marquis de Pombal, who has rightly been called one of the most remarkable men of his day.

§ 7. Portu-
gal under
Joseph I,
1750-77.

The Min-
istry of
Pombal,
1750-77.

He entered office in 1750 after several years of diplomatic service in England and at Vienna, and soon gained complete ascendancy over the mind of his master, the weak King Joseph I. Portugal was at that time in a state of decay; pirates ravaged her coasts and robbers infested her roads; her commerce was completely under the control of England; her administration was corrupt; her nobles were occupied only in seeking their own pleasure, while the poorer population was ignorant and superstitious.

Pombal set to work energetically to combat the evils he found. He tried to free his country from her dependence on England, and to form an alliance with Spain; he encouraged her commerce and even more her agriculture (for economists at that time strongly upheld the

theory that land was the only real source of wealth). Nobles were induced to enter trading companies, and a Royal College was formed for the education of their sons, while the University of Coimbra was taken out of the hands of the Jesuits, and remodelled by the Government.

Such reforms awoke bitter jealousy in the minds of the Jesuits, who had before controlled both Church and nation ; and when Lisbon was overwhelmed by the earthquake of 1775, they tried to persuade the people that it was the work of the chief minister. The terrified Joseph 1775. was certain also that divine justice had fallen on his capital, and tremblingly asked Pombal's advice as to what to do. The Marquis's answer is a sufficient indication of his practical nature and contempt for superstition: 'Why, bury the dead and attend to the living,' he replied ; and thus a new Lisbon was built on the ashes of the old.

A rebellion of the natives of Paraguay in 1751 against the Portuguese Government, at the instigation of the Jesuits, and the attempted assassination of the King in 1758, enabled Pombal to make a direct attack upon his enemies. He persuaded his master that they had been concerned in the assault, and Joseph, fearful for his own life, consented to their expulsion in 1759. A protest from Clement XIII resulted in the confiscation of Jesuit property, and the Marquis appealed to the other nations of Europe to follow the example he had set.

This arbitrary conduct secured his own authority during the King's lifetime, but on the death of Joseph I in 1777 he fell from power. By that time he had heard his appeal answered in all the countries under Bourbon rule. In 1767 France and Spain both followed the example of Portugal.

Spain from 1759-88 was ruled by Charles III, who § 8. Spain under belonged to the Spanish branch of the Bourbon house,

Charles III,
1759-88.
Character
of Charles
III.

yet no man could have been less Spanish in character. He was devoid of the national vices of laziness and procrastination ; and it is even reported that throughout his reign he never varied the hour at which he went to bed, while his business was attended to with the utmost regularity. The Spanish love of pageantry and fine clothes he certainly did not share. A plain man, he dressed in the plainest fashion possible, and when forced to wear grand robes on state occasions discarded them as soon after as might be, with a fervent 'Thanks be to God !'

Charles, before he ascended the throne of Spain on the death of his half-brother Ferdinand VI, had ruled in Naples. There he had once been threatened in his capital by the guns of English men-of-war, and this aroused in him a deep dislike of England and her pretensions to be mistress of the seas. He had therefore agreed to the Family Compact of 1761, and joined in the Seven Years' War as the ally of Austria and France.

Charles III
and the
Family
Compact.

The affair
of the
Falkland
Islands.

The first time, however, that he relied on the Bourbon alliance for his own needs, it failed him utterly. This was in the affair of the Falkland Islands, which were situated near the mouth of the river Plate in South America. Some Englishmen had encamped on these islands, and Spain, feeling they threatened her colonies on the mainland, forcibly expelled the settlers in 1770 without previously declaring war on their Government. On England indignantly demanding an explanation, Charles III appealed to his ally, France, to uphold his cause ; but just at that time the Duc de Choiseul had fallen into disgrace and Louis XV refused to give any help. Spain, too weak to engage in war alone, was forced to humble herself and to make reparation, but she was to have her revenge later.

Humiliating though the affair of the Falkland Islands

must have been to Spanish pride, the country itself needed peace, without which there could be no real internal reform. She was suffering from many of the same evils as Portugal, of which perhaps the most injurious was that the Government, able to draw precious metals from its American mines, was not the least dependent on the people for supplies, and had no great incentive to encourage commerce.

Charles III was not a genius, but he had the true interests of Spain at heart; and though not popular during his lifetime, his reign was looked back upon by after generations as that of 'the good king'. His chief obstacle in the way of reform was the ignorance of the people, and their fixed belief that what their grandfathers had done must be the only way. Even in the matter of cleansing the streets of Madrid he aroused anger. It was the custom of householders to get rid of refuse by throwing it out of their windows, to the annoyance if not danger of the passers by. Charles commanded that instead public donkey-carts should be employed to remove rubbish, and there was at once a popular remonstrance on the score that the dirt in the streets was necessary to counteract the sharpness of the air. It was a true indication of the absence of modern ideas in Spain that the majority of Charles III's advisers were foreigners: two of them, Squillace and Grimaldi, were Charles III's ministers. Italians, and another, Wall, an Irishman. This employment of aliens was naturally much disliked in Spain, and was one of the reasons for the Insurrection of Madrid, which took place in 1776.

Squillace was a man of low birth, and had behaved in an arrogant manner: he had taxed the people heavily, and yet was known to have provided well for his own family. The mob of Madrid, enraged by a two years'

failure of the harvests, rose in revolt, and broke the windows of the unpopular minister's house; and the king was forced to bow to the general indignation and dismiss him.

(6) D'Aranda and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, 1767.

A Spaniard, D'Aranda, a man of modern views, was now advanced to be President of the Court of Madrid, and his term of office will ever be memorable for the expulsion of the Jesuits from his land. Spain was the country of Europe most under the control of the Church; her ruler was always known as 'the Catholic King', and not only had the Church up to the eighteenth century absorbed the Government offices, but the bishops in their dioceses, and the parish priests in the country districts, were as monarchs of their neighbourhoods. Charles III was no sceptic like Frederick the Great of Prussia; he was a devout man; but he saw he could never reform the State unless he made it master of the Church.

He therefore restricted the power of the Inquisition, and limited the number of monasteries and the amount of land that could be held in 'mortmain'; that is, to religious corporations. Under the influence of D'Aranda he went even further, for this minister persuaded him that the Jesuits had instigated the Insurrection of Madrid. Of the truth of the accusation there is no evidence, but the occasion was a good one for removing an undoubted danger to the Government, and on March 31, 1767, all members of the Order were deported from the coasts of Spain and her colonies.

The sufferings of the unhappy exiles were intense. The Pope refused to let them land on his territory, and many died on board ship of hunger and disease. Finally, they were allowed a refuge on the barren rocks of Corsica, while some, later, found their way to Prussia

and Russia, where the sceptical Frederick the Great and Catherine II suffered them to live unmolested.

Naples or, as it was generally called, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, then ruled by Ferdinand IV, a son of Charles III, under the influence of a gifted reformer, Tanucci, followed the example of Spain, as did the other Bourbon power of Italy, the little Duchy of Parma, under Ferdinand, a nephew of the Spanish King.

§ 9. Naples under Ferdinand IV.

The Duchy of Parma.

The Pope, Clement XIII, was at last roused to action. Owing to the decline of the temporal power of the Papacy, he had been unable to do more than remonstrate with nations like France and Spain; but now, in 1768, he attacked the Duke of Parma, and declared his duchy an ecclesiastical fief.

§ 10. The Papacy and the Jesuits.

This warlike conduct aroused the anger of the Bourbons. Ferdinand of Parma was a grandson of Louis XV, and the latter seized Avignon, which, although situated in France, had belonged to the Popes for some four hundred years. The King of Naples took the fortresses of the Holy See on the Neapolitan border, and Charles III insisted on the publication of a Bull abolishing the Order of Jesuits. Clement XIII, overcome by the news of these disasters, died in February, 1769; and Clement XIV, his successor, yielded to the Bourbon demands and withdrew his claims on Parma in return for those of Louis XV on Avignon. In 1773 he published the Bull *Dominus et Redemptor*, by which the Society of Jesus was dissolved. A year later he died, and those in Europe who had upheld the cause of the Order considered his fate a judgement from heaven. Florida Blanca, the Spanish agent at Rome who had finally persuaded the Pope to yield to his master's demands, was made foreign minister of Spain in 1774; and D'Aranda, whose peevish temper had irritated Charles III and those who had to work

Death of Clement XIII, 1769.

Accession of Clement XIV.

The Bull *Dominus et Redemptor*, 1773.

with him, was removed from his office, and sent on an embassy to France. The economic reforms in which he was engaged were carried on by his successor, Campomanes, who gave a great impetus to trade and manufacture.

§ 11. Importance of the reign of Charles III.

The reign of Charles III may be called a golden age of progress in the history of Spain, for many of the good institutions that exist there to-day can be traced back to that date ; but the patriotic King could not, in so short a time, undo the evil caused by centuries of mis-government and national decay.

The policy of Charles III, like that of Pombal in Portugal, and of Choiseul in France, was marred by one cardinal defect. Though all these statesmen ruled with the good of their country before their eyes, they did not encourage the nations whom they ruled to help them in their task. Only in England, and there very partially, was the doctrine of 'ruling for the people by the people' understood. Europe, as a whole, was governed by 'benevolent despots', who forced upon their subjects reforms which in most cases they regarded with suspicion or apathy. In France, the lesson of national liberty was to be learnt in the school of anarchy. In Spain and Portugal it was not to be learnt at all, and the prosperity of these two countries died with its authors.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTHERN LEAGUE

§ 1. Prussia under Frederick the Great. § 2. Russia under Catherine II. § 3. Poland. § 4. The Russo-Turkish War. § 5. Frederick the Great and the Eastern Question. § 6. The First Partition of Poland. § 7. Continuation of the Russo-Turkish War. § 8. Russia and the Northern Powers. § 9. Denmark. § 10. League between Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, 1769. § 11. Sweden under Gustavus III.

THE union of the Bourbon powers in the south of Europe had a northern counterpart in the league formed between Russia and Prussia in 1764 for the purpose, it was stated, of mutual defence.

Prussia, as has been said, was at that time governed by Frederick the Great, the most famous of the illustrious house of Hohenzollern. This King had carried his country through the Seven Years' War without incurring a penny of debt; but defeat had often stared him in the face, and Berlin, his capital, had more than once been pillaged. Prussia, after the peace of Hubertsburg, presented a picture of national ruin. Nearly every province had experienced the ravages of war; farms and houses were charred ruins; fields lay uncultivated; disease and famine had thinned the flocks of cattle and sheep; while about a sixth of the male population, capable of bearing arms, is said to have perished in the late conflict.

No less active in peace than in war, Frederick II set himself to restore the prosperity of his kingdom, but even in civil matters the military bias of his mind was shown. His country was ruled like one huge camp; war-

horses were lent to plough the land, military stores were apportioned out to the inhabitants, and the people were drilled into obedience to his orders as sternly as were his own guards.

Like the reformers in the south of Europe, the King claimed to rule entirely for the nation's good. At one time he wrote, 'The sovereign is far from being the absolute master of the people under his rule. He is merely the first servant of the State'; but in contradiction to such a belief, there was no greater despot in the eighteenth century than Frederick of Prussia. He interfered in every department of life; he bullied his nobles and kicked his judges if they displeased him, putting on one side the decision of eminent lawyers because he thought his own views better.

Yet Prussia enjoyed the semblance of liberty; her inhabitants were allowed freedom of conscience and her Press could say what it chose. 'My people and I have come to an agreement, which satisfies us both', he once remarked; 'they are to say what they please and I am to do what I please.' The last part of the sentence was most certainly true.

Another side to Frederick's character was the keen interest he took in the poetry, drama, and scientific views of his own day, yet he did not trouble to encourage a national literature in Prussia. He could not read or write German himself, and hardly understood it when spoken. He expressed the greatest annoyance on one occasion when a communication from Austria was written as a compliment in his own tongue. French was the medium of conversation amongst cultivated people, and in French Frederick both wrote and conversed.

His greatest admiration was for the French philosopher

and sceptic Voltaire, whom he invited to his Court : the visit was not a happy one. The King indulged his love of practical jokes at Voltaire's expense, and pretended to admire the works of some of the second-rate authors he had gathered round him, because he saw it hurt his guest's vanity. Voltaire replied with jibes at the bad verses Frederick wrote and gave him to correct. 'See what a quantity of his dirty linen the King has sent me to wash !' he said on one occasion. The quarrel degenerated into Frederick refusing his visitor chocolate and sugar, while Voltaire in revenge pocketed the palace candles. It is not surprising to hear that soon after this the philosopher left Prussia.

These undignified proceedings throw a grotesque light on the great Frederick, but they should not be allowed to hide his abilities nor efface the memory of his brilliant career. It must not be forgotten that he came to the throne of a kingdom insignificant in the eyes of Europe ; that he made that kingdom a rallying-point in Germany for all who dreaded the ambition of the Austrian Habsburgs ; and that he left it one of the chief powers in Europe.

Import-
ance of the
reign of
Frederick
the Great.

Historians have sometimes blamed him on the score that his opposition to Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II prevented the formation of Germany into one nation ; but it is extremely doubtful if Austria, even freed from his enmity, could have made herself ruler of all the smaller German potentates, many of whom were imbued with an hereditary dislike of her authority. It is still more doubtful whether Austria, if she had succeeded in this, could have made Germany a strong nation. Future wars were soon to show the extent of her own decay.

There is another charge against Frederick the Great, which cannot be denied on either moral or political

grounds. When, on the accession of Maria Theresa, he seized the province of Silesia, without any valid excuse save the weakness of his rival, he introduced into the politics of Europe a new theory. Henceforth those nations who were strong might enrich themselves at the expense of those who were helpless by the mere right of conquest.

This principle he continued to put into practice all his life, and an instance will be seen in the partition of Poland in 1772, which was chiefly the result of his diplomacy. No one who looks at the wrong and right of political actions could hesitate to call this policy of spoliation immoral. It was also dangerous to the whole of Europe ; for, as it brought immediate gains, those who introduced it were sure to find imitators.

The King of Prussia increased his dominions, but fate was to have her revenge on his descendants at the hands of a Corsican general more greedy of conquest than Frederick himself.

§ 2. Russia under Catherine II, 1762-96. Russia, the ally of Prussia in the Northern League, was ruled by the Empress Catherine II, a German princess of the house of Anhalt-Zerbst. She had seized the throne in 1762 on the deposition and murder of her husband Peter III, to which she had almost certainly been privy. Until her death, thirty-four years later, this remarkable woman, although a foreign usurper, maintained her position as Tsarina of All the Russias. In this she was helped by the nature of her empire, whose wide sparsely-populated lands, cut off from easy communication with the rest of Europe, hindered any national movement of revolt.

‘God is Tsar in heaven ; the Tsar is God on earth’ : so runs the Russian proverb ; true index of the Russian mind in the eighteenth century and its complete acceptance of a despotic government. Catherine on her part

was prepared to prove herself a true Russian: she displayed great zeal for the Greek Church and tried to make her capital a centre of the literary and cultivated world. By this means she hoped to tone down the semi-barbaric minds and habits of the Russian nobles who frequented St. Petersburg. She herself wrote in a strain of humble admiration to Voltaire, most flattering to his vanity; but he could never be induced to visit her, perhaps mindful of his experience of Teutonic hospitality at the Court of Prussia.

Another way in which Catherine hoped to make herself popular was by increasing Russian territory at the expense of her weaker neighbours, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Of these, Poland appeared the easiest object of attack, as she had been for some time more or less under Russian influence; and when an opportunity offered itself in the death of the Polish King, Augustus III, Catherine secured the throne for her own tool, Stanislaus Poniatowski, and looked forward to absorbing his kingdom by degrees without striking a blow.

The kingdom of Poland has had more pity wasted on her perhaps than she quite deserves: she was a troublesome neighbour for any ordinary State to tolerate, for she was always in a condition of internal anarchy. This was chiefly due to her constitution. In the first place, her crown was elective and each new election was almost certain to result in civil war. Her nobles were independent, quarrelsome, and divided into factions. Most unfortunately, they were able to paralyse any action of the government, whether good or bad, by a clause of the constitution known as the *Liberum Veto*. This declared that any member of the Diet (the national council composed of delegates elected by the nobles from their own class) by withdrawing from the council altogether, or by hindering

Foreign policy of Catherine II.

§ 3. Poland.

Elective monarchy in Poland.
The *Liberum Veto*.

the changes suggested there for six weeks, could make the passage of measures illegal. Nothing in fact could be done without the consent of all the members of the Diet.

It is obvious that while the *Liberum Veto* existed reform and progress were hopeless; the more so that political differences were intensified in Poland by the fierceness of opposing religious beliefs. Catholics, Protestants, members of the Greek Church, and Jews, hated one another with an intolerance worthy of the Middle Ages. Yet the constitution maintained freedom of conscience. It was the aim of the Dissidents, as all who were not Catholics were called, to secure also a right to sit in the Diet, which they were denied: and to obtain this desire they were ready to sacrifice their patriotism and call in foreign aid.

Catherine was thus provided with ample excuses for interfering in Polish politics. She first of all intervened to help the party of reform, the house of Czartoriski, who wished to make the monarchy hereditary and abolish the *Liberum Veto*; but both these changes were really contrary to her own policy, which was to continue the anarchy as long as possible that she might gain something from the weakness it involved.

Once therefore established as an arbiter in Polish disputes, she turned to the enemies of the Czartoriski and suggested through them that the Dissidents should be made eligible for the Diet. The latter, being strongly Catholic in sympathy, refused the motion; but Catherine sent Russian troops to help the Dissidents, and these overawed the Diet and even forced it to delegate its powers to certain commissioners, who were of course under Russian influence. The leader of the patriotic opposition suffered the fate of the enemies of the Russian Government in all ages, and was banished to Siberia.

Religious differences in Poland.

The next Diet, which was summoned in the year 1768, agreed to Russia's demands. The Dissidents were assured of their rights: the monarchy was to remain elective, while the *Liberum Veto* was still left in force except in the case of granting supplies. Poland was divided in interests but all her patriotism was not dead. The Catholic nobles of the south, angry at the favour shown to their religious rivals and stung by Russian interference, rose in revolt and formed a league, called the Confederation of Bar from the name of one of the Polish provinces. They then appealed for help to France their old ally, and to Austria the enemy of Russia.

The Confederation of Bar, 1768.

There is no doubt that Austria should have responded to this appeal; it was to her advantage to have a weak Government on her borders rather than the mighty empire of Russia, but Maria Theresa was unwilling to embark on war and preferred to remain neutral.

France, at that time under the administration of Choiseul, stirred up the Porte (as the Turkish Government at Constantinople was called) to resent certain raids which Russian troops had made into its territory in pursuit of Polish fugitives. The Sultan Mustapha III was anxious for war. He knew that for many months Russian agents had been urging Bosnians and Greeks to rebel against him, and in 1768 he demanded the Russian evacuation of Poland.

§ 4. The Russo-Turkish War, 1768.

When this was refused, he immediately declared war. Thus, Russians could say that they fought for religious liberty in Poland; Turks, that they supported national independence. Meanwhile the unhappy country, at the mercy of Cossacks and Ottomans, was the scene of constant massacre and pillage.

Frederick the Great watched the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War in some alarm. By his defensive

§ 5. Frederick the Great and

the Eastern alliance, formed with Russia in 1764 and renewed in 1767, Question.

he had bound himself to assist Catherine control the Polish throne and support the Dissidents. He had no desire to do so by arms, and feared he would be dragged into hostilities. 'We are Germans,' he said; 'what does it matter to us if Turks and Russians seize one another by the hair?' Nevertheless he would have been equally displeased had Russia absorbed Poland without any opposition.

§ 6. The First Partition of Poland, 1772.

In this dilemma the idea of partitioning the disputed territory occurred to his mind. If he could secure the strip of country which separated the Kingdom of Prussia proper in the north-east from Pomerania and Brandenburg, the hereditary possessions of the house of Hohenzollern, without striking a blow, it would be a remarkable feat of diplomacy. At present it was necessary, when going from one part of his dominions to the other, to pass through the turbulent district of Polish Prussia. Russia and Austria, he considered, might agree to his plan if they were allowed to indemnify themselves by absorbing the districts of Poland nearest to their borders.

Maria Theresa was horrified by the political immorality of the suggested partition; but her son Joseph II welcomed the idea, and in 1769 and the following year he had meetings with the Prussian King to discuss the situation. Frederick was not sorry for the opportunity of showing Catherine that there might be a possible combination between himself and the Austrian Government if her ambition proved too great.

Meanwhile the war had been progressing in favour of Russia, and her generals had occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, two provinces to the north-east of the Danube; while her fleet in 1770, chiefly manned by English officers,

had defeated the Turks in the Archipelago at Tchesm . Choiseul now sent 1,500 French troops under Dumouriez to aid the Confederation of Bar in Poland ; but in 1771 they were defeated at Landskron, and owing to the fall of the French minister and the entry of the incapable Triumvirate into office, no further reinforcements arrived. The Confederates were also defeated, and Poland lay at the mercy of Russia.

Austria, alarmed at Catherine's complete success, now declared that if Russian troops crossed the Danube, she would march her army into the field in Turkey's defence, and in 1771 a secret treaty between her and the Porte was signed to that effect.

In the following year the Empress of Russia agreed to the partition of Poland¹, and that unfortunate country was robbed of a third of her territory. Prussia received the long-coveted strip of country, with the exception of the important towns of Danzig and Thorn. Catherine secured that part of Poland which lay to the east of the rivers Dwina and Dnieper. Austria took Galicia and Red Russia on her eastern border. Of the three spoilers, Prussia certainly made the best bargain, and the reforms which Frederick instituted in his new province to some extent palliate the crime which he had committed. Order took the place of anarchy, commerce and agriculture were encouraged, and the Oder and Vistula joined by a canal. The Polish peasants at any rate had cause to bless their conqueror, who freed them from the tyranny and oppression of a factious nobility.

Meanwhile the Russo-Turkish War still continued, for § 7. Continuation of the Russo-Turkish War. The Sultan feared Catherine aimed at nothing less than conquering Constantinople itself. Indeed, she had talked of forming a Greek republic under Russian control, but

¹ See Map No. 1.

this was merely a dream of the future, and her immediate desire was to push her empire to the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff.

Rebellion of Pugachev, 1774.

A rebellion in 1774 of the Russian peasants round the river Don, however, inclined the Tsarina to peace. Their leader was the Cossack Pugachev, who was believed by many of his followers to be the secretly murdered Emperor Peter III. Pugachev declared his wish was not to reign himself but to wipe Catherine's name out of the public prayers ; and he hoped to place on the throne her son the Grand Duke Paul, who was not, however, privy to the plot.

Pugachev bound the peasants to his cause by saying he had come to free them from serfdom, and the royal troops had considerable trouble before he was captured and executed.

The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, 1774.

The suppression of the rebellion was followed by peace with Turkey in 1774 by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Catherine evacuated Wallachia and Moldavia, but gained her aim, the practical control of the Sea of Azoff and of the Black Sea as far west as the river Bug. Russian fleets were also to be allowed to sail henceforward unmolested in Turkish waters.

By this treaty the Eastern Question, so important to-day, was opened up ; but England then was fighting in America and was thus too busy to interfere. Besides, she had as a rule been on friendly terms with the rulers of St. Petersburg, and it did not occur to her statesmen that Russian ambitions would one day menace India and the navigation of the Mediterranean.

§ 8. Russia and the Northern Powers.

Catherine had now fulfilled two of her schemes of spoliation, and Russian territory was increased at the expense of Poland and Turkey. Her other opening for aggrandisement lay in the north, where Sweden stretched

on both sides of the Baltic and even threatened St. Petersburg from her province of Finland. Here also lay two allies who would be willing to enter on a scheme of partition : Prussia, who coveted Swedish Pomerania on her north-western coast line ; and Denmark, which then included the kingdom of Norway.

Denmark at the close of the Seven Years' War was ^{§ 9.} Denmark. ruled by Frederick V, one of the most enlightened monarchs of Europe ; and when he died in 1766 his work was carried on by the gifted statesman Struensee, who gained control over the weak mind of the new King, Christian VII, and of his wife Queen Caroline Matilda, a sister of George III.

Struensee had begun life as a doctor, and was much disliked by the nobles, both for his vanity and because he limited their privileges, while he tried to ease the hard lot of the peasants. In spite of his reforms the minister was hated by the whole nation, for the Danes were not modern enough to appreciate the freedom of the Press and the improvements made in the universities and law courts. They were blinded by their jealousy of the foreign tutors he introduced, and by the interference of the State in ecclesiastical matters. In 1772 Struensee therefore fell, the victim of a plot, and was seized and beheaded. The Queen Dowager, Juliana, for the next twelve years controlled the actions of Christian VII, while Guldberg became chief minister and undid the good reforms inaugurated by his predecessor.

In 1769 Denmark, Prussia, and Russia formed a league ^{§ 10.} League between Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, ^{1769.} to uphold the existing constitution of Sweden. The reason for this step was, as in the case of Poland, that the constitution was radically bad and that these three powers hoped out of the anarchy it entailed to reap some gain for themselves. Their great fear was that a Swedish

patriot would be found bold enough to overthrow the constitution.

§ 11.
Sweden
under Gus-
tavus III,
1771-92.

This patriot appeared in the person of the young King Gustavus III, who ascended the throne in 1771. In the days of his father Frederick VI, Gustavus had resented the position of the crown as a mere figurehead in Swedish politics. Imaginative and fond of adventure, he recalled the deeds of his ancestor and namesake, the great Gustavus Adolphus in the seventeenth century, before whom Europe had trembled. He determined to imitate him and make his kingdom once more, as then, an important factor in continental affairs.

The fac-
tions of
the Hats
and Caps.

The chief danger to Sweden at the time of his accession was the factions of the Hats and Caps amongst the nobility, which hindered the progress of business in the Diet, or Riksdag, and even threatened in their quarrels to demand foreign intervention. The Caps had originally gained their name as a derisive comment on their peace policy by their political opponents, who dubbed them 'sleepy-heads' or 'night-caps'. These opponents in turn received their nickname from the three-cornered hats which were worn by the warlike nobles.

Policy of
Gustavus
III.

Now the two parties were distinguished, 'the Caps' for their Russian sympathies, 'the Hats' for their French. The new King hoped to lessen the influence of both in the Government and gradually to stamp out their rivalry, but he himself agreed with the Hats in relying on French aid and disliking Russia. Gustavus was in Paris when his father died, and had aroused the utmost enthusiasm there by his ready tongue and gallant bearing. No less pleasing to him was the ceremony and culture of the court of Versailles and the goodwill expressed by the French Government.

The possibility of a *coup d'état*, by which the existing

Swedish constitution might be overthrown, was discussed before he left France, and he was given money and even promised troops if they could be conveyed to the Baltic without arousing the opposition of England, who controlled the Channel and was ostensibly friendly to Russia. In 1777 the Triumvirate was in power, and the Duc d'Aiguillon, who felt his neglect of Poland was unworthy of French traditions, wished to redeem his reputation as foreign minister by hindering the ambition of the national enemy, Russia, in the north of Europe.

Gustavus returned to Sweden and, while Catherine was still occupied with the Russo-Turkish War, he in 1772 effected the overthrow of the old constitution. ^{Revolution in Sweden, 1772.} Under the new régime the powers of the monarchy were enlarged, but the King intended to use them as a reformer not as a tyrant. His first acts were to free the Press and abolish the use of torture. Sweden, with the exception of her nobility, hailed him in delight as her deliverer from oppression, and indeed he had done more than this, for he had saved her from the fate of Poland.

France sang his praises, while Prussia, Denmark, and Russia denounced him as a tyrant enslaving his country. They had good reason to object to the revolution, which had completely upset all their plans. Denmark, on the strength of the League of 1769, threatened to go to war; but the determined attitude of Gustavus, who massed his troops on the Norwegian border line, forced her to desist. She had met with no aid from her allies, except a renewal of her alliance with Russia in 1773.

Frederick the Great feared that a general European war might deprive him of Polish Prussia, and a contest with Sweden seemed likely to involve France at any rate as her ally. Catherine on her part could do nothing for the moment, though in 1774 she freed her hands by

concluding the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji with the Turks.

Gustavus III thus remained triumphant, with the eyes of Europe fixed upon him. Carlyle has called him 'a shining sort of man', and the phrase expresses the fascination which his dramatic career and vivid personality has exercised both on his contemporaries and on students of eighteenth century history. The young King has been accused of treachery and tyranny, as he has been lauded for patriotism and liberal-mindedness, but no one has ever ventured to call him dull or commonplace.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II

§ 1. The Holy Roman Empire. § 2. Austria under Maria Theresa. § 3. Reforms of Joseph II. § 4. Joseph II and the Church. § 5. Foreign Policy of Joseph II and of Maria Theresa. § 6. The Bavarian Succession Question. § 7. Joseph II and the Barrier Fortresses. § 8. The opening of the Scheldt. § 9. The League of Princes. § 10. Joseph II and the Eastern Question. § 11. The Russo-Turkish War of 1787. § 12. The Rebellion in Hungary. § 13. The Belgian Revolt. § 14. Death of Joseph II. § 15. Peace of Sistova. § 16. The character and reforms of Joseph II.

IN the eighteenth century the greater part of Central Europe was still governed under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. At its head stood the Emperor, now for nearly three centuries, with but one exception, a member of the Austrian Habsburgs. Below him came the independent princes of the Empire and the Free Towns. They were represented in the Diet or Imperial Council in three colleges. The first was the College of Electors, of whom some ranked as independent sovereigns. The King of Prussia was Elector of Brandenburg, the King of England Elector of Hanover. On the death of an Emperor it was the right of the electors to choose his successor. The second college was that of the Princes, both lay rulers and those who held ecclesiastical fiefs. The third was attended by representative burghers of independent towns, such as Hamburg or Bremen in the north of Germany and Ulm or Augsburg in the south. When a measure had been passed by the three colleges,

§ 1. The Holy Roman Empire.

Holy Roman Empire.

The colleges of the Imperial Diet.

The *Conclusum*.

it had to receive the signature of the Emperor, and it then became a *Conclusum* or decree of the Empire. Decrees were carried out by means of a cumbrous system of administration, which dated from the Middle Ages.

The circles of the Empire.

The Empire for governmental purposes was arbitrarily divided into districts or 'circles', each responsible for so much taxation or a certain contingent of troops. In practice every landowner whose territory formed part of a circle tried to shift on to his neighbour's shoulders the chief burden of the imperial demands. The true defect of imperial government lay deeper than clumsy machinery or bad management; it arose from the decay of the Empire itself, now that the needs were gone which it had been invented to meet. The Emperor only valued his office since it gave him a legal right to interfere in the quarrels of imperial subjects, sometimes with profit to himself. The independent princes felt no attachment for the Empire, but what patriotism they possessed was expended on their own possessions, which they ruled as miniature kingdoms. Here they acted the part of reformers, after the fashion of the age. One petty sovereign freed his serfs; another studied improvements in agriculture and mining; a third founded a university and devoted himself to the development of education. There were of course exceptions to this benevolent attitude, such as the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who sold his subjects to George III of England to be used as mercenaries in the War of American Independence.

The political opinions of the Empire were generally decided by the influence of the two leading powers of Prussia and Austria; the Protestants looking rather to Frederick the Great for guidance, and the Catholics to his rivals the Habsburgs.

Austria in 1763 was ruled by Maria Theresa, who

The States of Germany.

feeling unable to fulfil her difficult task alone, had made ^{§ 2.} Austria under her gifted son, the Emperor Joseph II, co-regent with her. ^{Maria Theresa, 1740-80.} This scheme did not turn out as she had hoped, for she was old and conservative in mind and he was young and full of very modern theories. Thus their wills constantly clashed, and their differences often made the policy of their country vacillating and feeble.

The dominions of Austria presented an immense problem to their ruler, for they were scattered over ^{The Austrian dominions.} Europe and united by no spirit of nationality. It was impossible to talk of an Austrian nation as of the English or French. The bulk of the Austrian territories lay to the east of Europe, where were the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia with several smaller provinces and the Archduchy of Austria. To the north of the Alps lay the original possessions of the house of Habsburg, the Tyrol and the districts of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

In the eighteenth century there had been added to these the Netherlands (the modern kingdom of Belgium) and the Duchy of Milan in north Italy, while Leopold, a brother of Joseph II, ruled in Tuscany. Austria was thus composed of many different nations, separated by the barriers of race and prejudice. There could be no sympathy or understanding between the prosperous burgher of Ghent or Bruges and the poor but haughty Hungarian noble, save perhaps in the devotion of both to the Catholic faith. In the same way the free peasants of the Tyrol and the downtrodden serfs of Bohemia were at utterly different stages of civilization.

Maria Theresa had been on the whole well suited to rule this conglomerate of races. She was a devoted member of the Catholic Church, and thus possessed the one sentiment common to all her dominions; but she

was no bigot, and wished to educate and raise the depressed masses of her subjects. This she hoped to do by exalting the royal power at the expense of Provincial Diets and assemblies till they disappeared from want of use.

Though she did not approve of the arbitrary conduct of the Bourbons towards Clement XIII, she was yet glad to hear of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. The Order had been a menace to the royal authority; and on its suppression she at once put the schools and universities which it had controlled under the civil power. A number of convents also were abolished, and the wealth of the rest somewhat limited. The Empress had too much respect for the privileges of the landowners in her Slav territories to free the serfs; but she lightened the compulsory service which they owed to their lords.

§ 3. Re-
forms of
Joseph II.

Joseph II was very impatient at this policy of compromise and chafed at his mother's restraining influence. As soon as it was removed he started a campaign of drastic reform, based on what he called his three principles; these were, 'equal justice, intellectual freedom, and religious toleration.' To modern minds this creed seems so natural that it is hard to realize how much credit was due to a statesman of the eighteenth century for consistently putting it into practice. It is true Joseph was not by any means the first ruler to hold these liberal ideas, but none of his contemporaries acted up to them with such sincerity and steadiness of purpose.

Inequality was to Joseph the root evil of government; and his method of removing it was to construct one supreme authority, the Crown, whose business should be to see that no subject oppressed another. If he failed in his object, it was not because his ideals were wrong, but

because of the means by which he tried to make them practical.

Equality, according to the Emperor's plan, was secured by an entirely new system of government. The Austrian dominions were divided up into large circles, subdivided into small ones ; and over each of these was placed a governor and officials appointed by the Crown. In their hands was the transaction of all important matters, while a few purely local questions were left to the settlement of town and village councils. The Austrian circles.

Justice was to be administered by a high court at Vienna, with branches throughout the country ; and judges, like the governors of the circles, were to be royal nominees.

The Emperor also made laws freeing serfs and abolishing privileges and exemptions from taxation. Taxes were to be levied in future on land according to the richness of the soil and the position of the locality. No noble or churchman, on account of his rank or office, was to escape his due share.

Such were some of the reforms of Joseph, showing how much he had the welfare of his people at heart ; but they did not secure for him the popularity which his excellent intentions deserved. Maria Theresa had been wise to make changes slowly ; her son was too impatient : as Frederick the Great once said of him, 'he always wanted to take the second step before he had taken the first.'

The new reforms gave the Emperor enemies amongst every class of his subjects. The nobles and clergy were angry at the destruction of their privileges ; Hungarians and Belgians not unnaturally saw only tyranny in the new royal system, which swept away their own Provincial Diets and Estates. Even the lower classes were not

pleased, for they resented various insults to their customs and prejudices, above all the enforced use of the German tongue even in the Slav provinces.

§ 4. Joseph II and the Church. The Emperor had also put a weapon into the hands of those who hated him by his attitude to the Church. Unlike his mother, Joseph had little reverence for the Catholic faith ; and, though he declared himself to be orthodox in his views, yet he gave his subjects good reasons for thinking him as much a sceptic as Frederick the Great or Catherine of Russia.

The Toleration Edict, 1781. Two of his three principles were 'intellectual freedom and religious toleration' ; and, in order to carry these into practice, he issued in 1781 a Toleration Edict that removed the disabilities from which many citizens of the Austrian dominions had suffered on account of their religious convictions.

This was followed by measures tending to make the Catholic Church merely a department of the civil government. Bishops were not to appeal to Rome ; religious corporations were made subject to state inspection ; and convents and monasteries, founded for 'contemplation', were suppressed on the grounds that they contributed nothing to the wealth of the nation and were therefore an economic burden.

Visit of Pius VI to Vienna, 1782. Pope Pius VI received the news of these drastic changes in much alarm. When orthodox Austria and the Holy Roman Emperor became deliberately anti-papal, it seemed as if Catholicism were doomed to perish. In 1782 he went to Vienna to use his personal influence against the new reforms. His host was polite but deaf to argument, and Pius was forced to return to Rome without accomplishing his mission. Nevertheless, his visit had not been in vain, for it was made the occasion of public demonstrations of

joy and devotion by Austrian Catholics, who thronged to pay him their respects.

Enthusiasm for the Pope increased the national resentment against Joseph, who had interfered with the canon of the services and ceremonial, as well as subjecting the government of the Church to his rule. In his desire to reduce all things to what he called the standard of reason, the Emperor had commanded side altars and pictures to be removed from the churches, and had issued a new service book which he thought preferable to the old.

The result was to drive into revolt his poorer subjects, whose loyalty might otherwise have been won by his liberal measures in civil matters. The mass of Austrians were sincerely religious, even bigoted, in their devotion to the Catholic faith. They regarded toleration as a crime, and any attack on their religious ceremonies as direct heresy. The peasantry were easily persuaded to believe that their sovereign was at least in league with the devil, when they saw with what little respect he treated the holiest emblems of their worship.

Joseph II was both strong and stubborn in character, and his will might have prevailed over the opposition his rashness had excited had he entirely devoted himself to home affairs. Unfortunately for the success of his schemes, foreign politics had an equally pressing claim on his time ; nor could the amount of attention he bestowed on them be justified either on the grounds of public duty or of any high principle of morality.

The foreign policy of Maria Theresa has been already mentioned. It may be summed up under three heads : real though concealed hostility to Prussia, the maintenance of the Franco-Austrian alliance, and a desire to preserve peace at all costs. All these views were abhorrent to Joseph II. He admired Frederick the Great,

and desired to outshine him: he distrusted the friendship of France, and he was willing to embark on war if necessary for the realization of his ambition. The friction which arose between the Empress and her son on home affairs during their joint rule was thus intensified by the differences in their foreign policy. But Maria Theresa was nearing the end of her life, while her son was inspired by all the determination and self-confidence of youth. Thus she was generally forced to give way, as in the case of the partition of Poland, which her conscience told her was a crime.

§ 6. The
Bavarian
Succession
Question,
1777.

Frederick
the Great
and the
Bavarian
Succession
Question.

Even more did she protest against the conduct of Joseph in the Bavarian Succession Question¹, which arose on the death of the Elector Maximilian Joseph in 1777. The Elector had no near heirs, so his inheritance passed to a distant relation, Charles Theodore of the Palatinate, who agreed, in a convention drawn up by the Emperor in the following year, to give him Bavaria in exchange for a large sum of money. Joseph II believed that he had achieved a great triumph, for the Habsburgs had long coveted Bavaria, as lying in the crescent between the two horns of their territory, Bohemia and the Tyrol. He marched his troops into the electorate and prepared to take possession; but he reckoned without the Bavarians themselves, who were not at all willing to be sold to Austria like pieces of furniture. They appealed to Frederick the Great for help and he at once responded. The convention to become legal needed the signature of Duke Charles Augustus of Zweibrücken, a cousin of Charles Theodore and the next heir to the electorate. This he refused to give on the advice of the King of Prussia, who marched an army into Bohemia to defend his claims.

¹ See Genealogy p. 242.

Joseph, nothing loath to cross swords with the first soldier in Europe, sent troops to meet him ; and slight skirmishes took place, with results on the whole favourable to the Austrians. Frederick was not exerting himself over the war ; for he hoped, through the medium of the Courts of Versailles and St. Petersburg, to insist on a peace that should check the Emperor's ambitions. In this he was successful, for the Tsarina Catherine was always glad of an opportunity of interfering in European affairs. Vergennes also, the French foreign minister, was amply occupied in subsidizing American rebels with troops and money, and had no wish to add to his other difficulties the complications of a continental war. Nor did the Emperor find sympathy at home, for Maria Theresa had from the first condemned his aggressive attitude.

Deserted on all sides, Joseph was forced in 1779 to agree to the Peace of Teschen, by which he secured a small strip of territory near the river Inn but conceded the independence of Bavaria. In 1780 the Empress died, and her son was left to carry out his rash schemes without any opposition from Austria itself.

Death of
Maria
Theresa,
1780.

His ambitions were now directed to increasing the commercial prosperity of his Belgian provinces. Here he found his authority hindered by the presence of Dutch garrisons in the line of fortresses on the frontier between France and the Netherlands. They had been stationed there according to the terms of the Barrier Treaty of 1715, which had been drawn up when France was at the height of her power and there was continual fear of her invading the Low Countries.

§ 7. Joseph
II and the
Barrier
Fortresses,
1781.

Joseph knew that France was now weak and believed the barrier to be unnecessary. He therefore expelled the Dutch garrisons and levelled the fortresses with the

ground. As Holland was in difficulties at this time she made no opposition, and the Emperor, emboldened by her silence, prepared to go even further.

§ 8. The opening of the Scheldt, 1784.

Long ago, in 1648, by the Treaty of Westphalia it had been settled that the mouth of the river Scheldt should be closed to commerce. This prevented Antwerp and Ghent from competing with the leading Dutch ports, and was naturally a source of great annoyance to the Belgian traders. Joseph now declared the Scheldt open, and sent imperial vessels down it to make good his claims. Holland, at last fired to resistance, seized the ships, and when the Emperor angrily informed her that any like action on her part would be regarded by him as a declaration of war, she only repeated the offence.

Joseph again had been too rash ; he had been playing a game of bluff, in which he hoped to reap advantage from the weakness of his adversaries, but he had never meant to embark on war, for he knew that the sympathies of Europe would be with the Northern Provinces.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1785.

In 1785 he agreed to the Treaty of Fontainebleau, negotiated through Vergennes, by which the mouth of the Scheldt remained closed, but the States-General of Holland paid their adversary a large sum of money. Joseph's conduct throughout his dealing with the Dutch had been entirely unjustifiable, but at first sight he would seem to have been rewarded for his sins by a well-filled treasury. In reality, he had lost more than he gained ; for his Belgian subjects, who had at first hailed him as the protector of their trade, after the Treaty of Fontainebleau regarded him as anxious only to fill his own pockets.

His next scheme intensified their anger, for the Emperor, feeling that the Low Countries were more a burden than a source of revenue, now suggested that he should exchange them with Charles Theodore for

Bavaria. Again his plans were foiled: the Belgians protested; Charles Augustus of Zweibrücken declared he would rather die under the ruins of Bavaria than agree, and Frederick the Great formed 'The Fürstenbund', or ^{§ 9. The League of Princes.}

Disgusted at this decisive blow to his ambitions in the west, Joseph turned his attention to the east, where he hoped to carry out his designs unmolested. In the following year came the news of the death of Frederick the Great. 'As a soldier, I regret the loss of a great man', ^{Death of Frederick the Great, 1786.} said the Emperor when he heard; 'as a citizen, I grieve that this death did not occur thirty years earlier.'

The eastern policy of Joseph II was founded on an alliance with Russia, formed in 1781, the result of a visit which he had paid to Catherine in the previous year. ^{Joseph II and the Eastern Question.} By the terms of the alliance he agreed to assist the Tsarina, should the Porte declare war on her, and, strengthened by his promises, Catherine in 1783 annexed the peninsula of the Crimea, hitherto neutral under Tartar rule. ^{Annexation of the Crimea by Russia, 1783.}

Conscious of her own weakness, Turkey in 1784 consented in the Peace of Constantinople to acknowledge this piece of robbery, but no concessions could put a bridle on the Empress's ambitions. Her dreams of a Greek Empire under Russian influence became a real scheme, when she had Austria for her ally and a fleet anchored in the Black Sea within two days' sail of the Turkish capital. ^{Peace of Constantinople, 1784.}

In 1787 she celebrated her annexation of the Crimea by a royal journey through her new provinces, in which she was accompanied by Joseph II. Here she gave open proof of her ambitions, and one of the new gates of the city of Kherson bore on it the inscription 'To Byzantium', while coins were struck representing her as the defender of the Greek faith. Her little grandson, who had been ^{Catherine II's journey to the Crimea.}

christened Constantine, was designated as the future ruler of the Greek dominions and his earliest teaching was in the Greek language.

§ 11. The
Russo-
Turkish
War of
1787.

Joseph II
and the
Russo-
Turkish
War.

Illness of
Joseph II.

§ 12. The
rebellion
in
Hungary.

Like a thunderbolt on her triumph came a declaration of war from the Porte in the autumn of the same year, for Turkey had realized she would be driven in the end to fight for her very existence, and hoped to take Russia unprepared. In this she was successful, for the Tsarina was hindered by a Swedish invasion¹ in the north from rendering efficient assistance to Joseph II, whose army had crossed the Danube in accordance with his promise made in 1781.

The first object of his attack was Belgrade, a Hungarian fortress in the days before the Ottoman advance, but his troops were beaten off and the campaign ended in disaster for the imperial forces. Disease broke out in the camp, and the Emperor, who had gone to the front, fell ill himself, and was forced to return in a dying condition to Vienna, conscious that in war as in diplomacy he had been a failure.

The news of disturbance at home was to increase his depression, for by 1789 both Hungary and the Low Countries were in open rebellion, while Bohemia seethed with discontent. The general causes of disaffection have been noted in the account of the Emperor's domestic policy. Hungary, which had been hitherto treated as an almost independent kingdom, was outraged at becoming merely an Austrian province. Joseph also had refused to be crowned at Presburg, and had taken away the regalia: he said he did not need a useless ceremony to confirm his rights, but the people believed he did not wish to take an oath to uphold their constitution, and this was probably true. His attitude, from whatever motive it sprang, had

¹ See p. 93.

been most unwise, as well as the religious changes he had introduced, and the Hungarian rebels demanded back their old constitution.

More serious was the Belgian revolt, which occurred ^{§ 13.} The about the same time. Its causes were both political and ^{Belgian} revolt. religious. The wealthy burghers of the Flemish and Brabantine towns found that the new constitution, which made their country into an Austrian province ruled by royal officials through the medium of circles, turned the ancient charters of their liberties into so much waste paper. Their Catholicism also was outraged by the Edict of Toleration ; and at the end of the year 1788 open rebellion broke out. When the Emperor refused to yield to the demands of the insurgents, they imitated the example of America and under the leadership of a lawyer, Van de Noot, declared themselves independent and the provinces a federal republic.

The news came as a final blow to the dying Emperor : ^{§ 14. Death of Joseph II, 1790.} 'The Low Countries are lost,' he said ; ' peace with the Porte is a long way off ; . . . the King of Prussia is *fomenting the disturbances in Hungary, and in the midst of all this I am unable to move.*' Realizing at length the complete failure of his schemes, he spent his last days in withdrawing the greater number of measures he had passed ; but it is noteworthy that his affection for his poorer subjects kept him firm as to the abolition of serfdom. At the beginning of the year 1790 he died ; and the task of quieting his dominions was left to ^{Accession of Leopold II.} his successor, his brother Leopold II.

In 1791 the new Emperor brought the Turkish War to a close, as far as regards Austria, by the Peace of Sistova, ^{§ 15. Peace of Sistova, 1791.} in which he gained the district of Orsova. The favourable nature of the terms was due to the campaign which had followed on the return of Joseph to Vienna in 1788,

when the veteran, Loudon, had been left as general in command. This able general had carried Belgrade by storm and conquered Servia, while the remainder of the Austrian army, in conjunction with the Russians, had defeated the Turks at Foksany and Rymnik.

Capture of Belgrade.

Soon the whole line of forts on the Ottoman frontier were in the hands of the allies; for Catherine, safe from Swedish inroads, was able to devote herself to the war in the south. Only the intervention of Prussia, who allied herself with the Porte and Poland, saved Turkey from entire destruction. The new Emperor was not sorry on his part to come to terms, that he might have his hands free to deal with domestic difficulties.

§ 16. The character and re-forms of Joseph II.

A review of the reign of Joseph II calls up before the mind a picture of plans which never succeeded and of reforms which only excited rebellion; yet, though the greater part of the Emperor's plans did not survive him, a few remained of very permanent value. The Netherlands were too alien to Austrian rule, both in locality and race, to accept without resistance his drastic changes. Hungary, still semi-barbaric, was not sufficiently developed to understand them; but in the Archduchy of Austria and the hereditary dominions of the Habsburgs, improvement was marked and steady. Industry and commerce increased and the poorer population thrrove and grew prosperous.

When Joseph is condemned for lack of judgement and rashness, he must be praised for his real devotion to the mass of his subjects. It was his mistake to follow, like other reformers of his day, the ideal of a government both benevolent and autocratic. This resulted in his efforts to secure national freedom by means of royal tyranny, and explains their failure.

His despotic attitude was intensified by his belief in

himself and his distrust of others. With a quick brain and an immense capacity for work, he despised the royal ministers and officials, who did not live up to his rigorous standard, and was constantly finding fault with them. Lacking in imagination, and therefore unable to see the point of view of others, he put down opposition to either stupidity or deliberate cunning, and greatly underrated the strength of public opinion.

His faults were those most likely to obscure from others the finer side of his nature and to alienate the sympathy of his contemporaries. Thus he was regarded in his own time as a man of boundless ambition, and an inveterate meddler in affairs that did not concern him. Later history has perhaps modified this verdict.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAST YEARS OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

§ 1. Character of Louis XVI. § 2. State of France at accession of Louis XVI. § 3. The Central Government. § 4. Local Government. § 5. The Church. § 6. The Nobility. § 7. The Middle Classes. § 8. The abuse of privilege. § 9. The state of finance. § 10. Seignorial rights. § 11. The Comte de Maurepas. § 12. Turgot, Controller-General. § 13. The Foreign Ministry of Vergennes. § 14. The War of American Independence. § 15. The ministry and fall of Necker. § 16. Character and influence of Marie Antoinette. § 17. The ministry of Calonne. § 18. The Assembly of Notables. § 19. The ministry of Brienne. § 20. The summoning of the States-General.

THE long reign of Louis XV had closed in humiliation and gloom. The Government was despised abroad and nearly bankrupt at home ; but with the accession of the § 1. Character of Louis XVI. Dauphin, new hopes dawned in France. Louis XVI at any rate did not inherit the vices of his grandfather, and his simple tastes had made him the mockery of a frivolous court. ‘I would be called Louis the Grave’, he had once said, when rallied on his silence at some festivity ; and he had withdrawn himself as much as possible from a society so little congenial to his nature. His spare time he had devoted to hunting or learning the trade of a locksmith, in which he became very proficient.

In his political views he was known to favour reform, while he was also an ardent Catholic ; and his good intentions were clearly expressed in the preamble to the first edict of his reign. ‘Seated on the throne, on which it has pleased God to place us,’ ran the document, ‘We

trust that his goodness will sustain our youth and guide us in the way that will make our people happy.' France thought a new era had dawned, and that the young king would save her from ruin. 'Resurrexit', wrote the joyful Parisians on a statue of Henry of Navarre, the most popular of French monarchs; but their hopes were doomed to disappointment.

Ruin could not be turned into prosperity by a mere change of rulers, for its root lay deeper than the foolish extravagance of the Court of Versailles. The institutions by which France was governed were wholly corrupt and worn out: only a revolution, which would destroy what was bad and replace it by political machinery suited to the age, could bring national salvation.

§ 2. State of France at accession of Louis XVI.

The courtier of the days of Louis XV who exclaimed, in light mockery, 'And after us the deluge,' uttered a true prophecy of the future. An hour was coming for France when old ideals must be sacrificed and personal interests surrendered. It remained to be seen if Louis XVI was strong enough to face the opposition of the prejudiced and selfish, and to bring about the necessary changes by a policy of slow but steady reform. If he failed, the revolution would come instead, as a popular movement born of national weariness and disgust with the old order of things. It would be full of danger to every class and individual; because, in unreasoning anger, it would sweep away much that was good as well as what was evil.

PART I. THE *ANCIEN RÉGIME*.

The foundation of the old régime was the belief that all authority and power in France came from the king. He was popularly called 'the father of his people', but he was a father with absolute control over his children.

§ 3. The Central Government.

The Monarchy. He could, on his own initiative, make laws and impose taxes and settle questions of peace and war. The Parlement of Paris might oppose his actions, but it has been shown that they did so at their peril.

The States-General. The only representative body in the kingdom was the States-General, so named because in it were represented the three estates of the realm, the nobles, the clergy, and the people. This assembly could not meet unless it was summoned by the king; and, as it had not been called since 1614, France had almost forgotten its existence.

The Royal Council. The Royal Council was the means by which the absolute monarch made his will felt. It was composed of about forty members, of whom the most important were the ministers of state, the heads of the various departments, such as war, or finance, or foreign affairs. Below them came the ordinary councillors, usually self-made men of the middle class, who had served a long apprenticeship in public offices. All the business of the land passed through the hands of the Council. It was prepared to discuss the merits of a new tax or the advisability of providing Paris with street lamps.

Defects of the Government. Such a wide range of duties explains at once one of the chief defects of the Government. Matters which could have been left with perfect safety to the meeting of a few parishioners, were considered with minute care by important statesmen. The consequent pressure of business resulted in a system of constant delay, which paralysed every branch of the public service. There is one case in which a certain village applied to the Council for leave to cut down timber from its woods to build up the parish church, fast falling into decay. Four years later no answer had yet been received, and it is probable that the church was past repairing when the necessary permission arrived.

This is only one illustration of a very serious abuse which caused aggravation, if not suffering, amongst every class in the land.

Another defect of the Government was the secrecy which it maintained over its actions. This arose from the old idea that affairs of State were the King's private business, into which the nation had no right to inquire. In times of poverty and distress, it followed that the Government had no hold on the public loyalty, for it had never taken the people into its confidence. If money failed, France was willing to believe that her statesmen had robbed the treasury.

Most disastrous also was the use of *lettres de cachet*, *Lettres de cachet*. or letters signed under the privy seal, by which a man could be sent to prison without a specified accusation and kept there at the royal pleasure, without being able to obtain either a trial or his release. *Lettres de cachet* were used sparingly towards the end of the eighteenth century ; and, on the occasions that they were, often with the best intentions. Parents were able by this means to shut up spendthrift sons, or a wife to rid herself for a time of a drunken husband ; but the continuance of such an arbitrary form of justice was evil in itself, and political agitators were able to represent criminals, justly punished for their sins, as the victims of a minister's personal dislike or revenge.

The agent of the Royal Council in the provinces was § 4. Local Government. The Intendant.
the intendant, who from his numerous duties might be nicknamed 'The state's man of all work'. He supervised the taxation of his district, enrolled the militia, called out the police force at his pleasure, saw that the bye-laws were obeyed ; and in fact was the sole delegate of the authority of the Council in his neighbourhood. So great were his powers, that a statesman of the day

once remarked, 'Know that this kingdom of France is governed by thirty intendants.'

It was a misfortune for the kingdom that the intendant had no efficient local bodies to assist him in his work. It is true that in five of the outlying provinces, known as 'the *Pays d'état*', there were Provincial Estates constituted on the same plan as the States-General, but except in Languedoc and Brittany these had no real power. Their only privilege was the doubtful joy of granting extra taxes to the Crown if they were so moved; but they could not refuse to approve those imposed by the Royal Council, nor could they make laws. Similarly, the chief towns, though they possessed the outward form of self-government, were really at the mercy of the intendant or other royal officials. The General Assemblies, or Town Councils, were often composed of nominees of the King, who could take away or alter the municipal charters if he chose.

'I am the State' had been the proud boast of Louis XIV; these words were to be the death-warrant of his descendant. The King who in the seventeenth century had made France the first nation in Europe, had reaped all the glory of its triumph. Louis XVI was to bear the burden of national hatred for disasters to which he himself had contributed little. Such were the penalties of absolutism. On his accession he found every class discontented, for every class was deprived of political rights.

§ 5. The Church. The Church resented its dependence on the Crown. It had the shadow of self-government, for it voted its own taxes in the form of a *don gratuit*, or free gift, in a General Assembly of its representatives; but the substance of power was the King's. By an agreement with the Pope, made in the sixteenth century, he could practically nominate what bishops he chose, and besides this he

Provincial Estates.

Municipal self-government.

had extended his patronage, till he controlled many of the richest livings in France.

Ambitious churchmen dreamed of an independent Gallican Church co-ruler with the Crown. Good Catholics hoped for reforms which should free the Church from the influence of the Court, and raise up a new generation of earnest priests to face the growing scepticism and unbelief.

The nobility of the sword, descendants of the crusaders and barons of the Middle Ages, were jealous of the nobility of office, from whose ranks the Government posts were filled. They still had left to them high-sounding titles and lucrative salaries, but all power was placed in other hands. The governor of some great province was a mere figurehead, where the humble intendant was practically a monarch. Even more galling was the position of the middle classes, the backbone of French life. They had little need to complain of their commercial prosperity, for, according to an English observer, trade had doubled in France between 1763 and 1787 ; and he also remarked on the fine buildings to be seen in the principal towns. 'In Nantes there was a theatre twice as large as Drury Lane and five times as magnificent.' Education was cheap ; the majority of public offices were filled from this class, but still discontent prevailed. The clear-headed, astute *bourgeoisie* were angry at the folly of a Government which in the face of national wealth was hurrying on to bankruptcy, without asking for advice from those best suited to give it.

It may at first sight seem strange that, when discontent was so general, no united effort from every class was made to overthrow the *ancien régime* and build up a new constitution.

The reason was to be found in a fundamental evil, far

§ 8. The
abuse of
Privilege.

greater than the defects of the Royal Council—‘a canker eating out the heart of France,’ as some one has called it. This evil was the rift in French society, the division between the privileged and unprivileged classes, which made their union impossible. The unprivileged demanded amongst their reforms the destruction of the very distinctions and rights which the privileged were prepared to defend to the death. Thus there was an impassable gulf fixed between the nobles and clergy on the one hand, and the middle classes and the peasants on the other.

Even more trying to rich citizens than their lack of political power was the knowledge that their sons, unless they bought patents of nobility to raise them above their class, could not hope to enter the army and navy as officers nor obtain a diplomatic post. It might be a small thing that the man-servant of a wealthy merchant might not wear livery, but petty annoyances like these have helped to build up the great rebellions of history. The well-read, cultured citizen, with his fine house and large revenue, naturally resented the arrogance and privileges of men who were often his inferior in everything but rank. From the *bourgeoisie* came the large class of French lawyers, steeped in the eighteenth-century doctrines of liberty and equality. These and the merchants were to be the leaders in the future revolution; and their principles may be guessed from the words of one of their orators, Camille Desmoulin, ‘My motto is that of every honourable man, “No superior.”’

§ 9. State
of finance.

No mention has yet been made of the lowest stratum of French society, the peasants. Their condition is best explained by a slight sketch of the vicious system of finance which prevailed in France in the eighteenth

century. One of its great evils was that the Controller-General, as the minister of finance was called, must pay the expenses of the Government and the Court out of the same purse. Since he owed his position to the Crown, it can be imagined which of the two was generally sacrificed to the other. Versailles had banquets and revels, but the Government was always out of pocket. It might have met its liabilities but for another great defect. 'France would be too rich if the taxes were equitably apportioned', said an eighteenth-century financier. It was the curse of France that they were not. Almost the entire burden fell on the lower classes. The nobles and clergy were exempt from nearly every tax, as were the governmental officials; and the rich *bourgeoisie* often escaped their share by buying public offices.

A striking instance is that of 'the *Taille*', a tax ^{The} *Taille*. assessed on land or income, which formed a great part of the national revenue. The upper classes were exempt from it almost entirely, and the number of merchants who evaded it increased every year. Thus the burden naturally grew heavier on those who still paid, and these were the unhappy peasant farmers, who in some parts of France dared not even improve their stock for fear the local intendant should promptly increase the *Taille*.

Agriculture, which at that date was making England rich, was in France carried on at a loss owing to this folly. Ministers saw the need of reform, but those who were privileged under the old order did not wish it changed, and at Versailles or in the leading cities opposed any attempts in that direction.

Indirect taxation was marked by the same inequality as the direct, and it was on the peasant that 'the *corvée*' ^{The} *Corvée*. and 'gabelle' fell. 'The *corvée*' was a duty of service

on the king's road to mend bridges or cart wood for a certain number of days at the will of the local intendant.

The
Gabelle.

'The *gabelle*' was an imposition on salt, of which every man had to buy a fixed amount for himself and the members of his household. This tax was especially disliked and was evaded by constant smuggling, though to be detected in that crime or as an accomplice in it was to be sentenced to imprisonment or the galleys.

The result of these harsh laws and the heavy taxation was to drive many of the poor to become robbers and outlaws, who either haunted woods and lonely roads or else fled to Paris, where they could remain undetected in the slums. Thus there grew up close to the seat of the Government itself a colony of criminals ready to avenge themselves on their superiors, when a favourable time should occur.

The
*Farmers-
General.*

The burden of heavy taxation was intensified by the practice of 'leasing' the indirect taxes to certain men known as 'Farmers-General.' These paid the Government a fixed sum each year, and then wrung the impositions from the peasants with an additional profit for themselves. Voltaire was once at a dinner-party when those present started to try and outdo one another in telling gruesome robber stories. The philosopher's was a short one, but it was significant. 'There once was a Farmer-General', he began, then after a pause he ended abruptly, 'That is all', and his audience needed no further explanation.

§ 10. Seig-
norial
rights.

Even if the peasant farmer managed to satisfy the governmental officials, he had often an enemy left in the neighbouring lord, from whom he rented his small property. This lord could ride on his hunting expeditions through his tenant's standing corn; his doves could feed in their hundreds on the ripening crops, while the owner

could not raise a hand to frighten them away. Old duties of taking corn to be ground at the lord's mill, or of shoeing horses at his forge, were still in force, though in some parts of the country more existed than in others.

These seigniorial rights did not make a serfdom such as the Polish peasants endured, but they embittered the relations between the nobles and their dependants. The peasants would be unlikely to stir of themselves; but, if leaders were found to influence and guide them, they were in a state of discontent which could be easily fanned into rebellion.

PART II. THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI (1774-1789)

The first act of Louis XVI was in agreement with the national expectations of a thorough change, for the Triumvirate Ministry, which had rendered the last years of Louis XV's reign so inglorious, was dismissed. The King nominated as his chief minister the Comte de Maurepas, who was sixty-three years of age and had spent the greater part of his life in public service. The choice was an unhappy one, for Maurepas had nothing to recommend him save experience and a witty tongue. 'He is', said an English contemporary, 'the most agreeable man in Paris'; and that was the only reputation to which the Comte aspired. For popularity he was prepared to sacrifice national interests and ruin enlightened statesmen; and from 1774 till his death in 1781 he acted as an evil influence on France and her sovereign.

Louis XVI, in spite of honesty and good intentions, was as little suited to be a King as his frivolous and selfish grandfather. He was entirely lacking in self-confidence, and this and his weak will gave to all his

§ 11. The
Comte de
Maurepas,
first
minister,
1774-81.

Character
of Louis
XVI.

actions the fatal air of indecision. 'When you can make a pyramid of a number of oiled ivory balls, you may do something with the King', said his brother the Comte d'Artois, and the ministers of state found this unflattering estimate of their master a true one. He would consent to one course of action and the next speaker would persuade him to adopt an entirely opposite view. The Comte de Maurepas arranged matters so that he acted as intermediary between the King and the other ministers, and so had always the last word on any subject. Under his influence Louis XVI took two steps which were popular but unwise. He renounced the dues of 'the joyous accession' and 'royal girdle' always paid to a new King and Queen, and which the treasury in its state of poverty could ill afford to lose. He also recalled the Parlements, which his predecessor had suppressed. These had aroused an undeserved enthusiasm by their opposition to Louis XV, but attention has already been drawn to the fact that they were even more prepared to defend narrow privileges than national rights. Turgot, the Controller-General, warned the king that they would be the enemies of reform.

Recall of the Parlements.

§ 12. Turgot, Controller-General, 1774-6.

In his choice of Turgot, Louis had displayed wisdom equal to his folly in appointing Maurepas first minister. The new Controller-General was a great statesman, and would have saved France from much future bloodshed had she permitted him. 'Your nation', he said to his master, 'is a society of different orders with little in common': he made it his policy to weld them together.

Turgot's economies.

The principles on which he based his system of finance were: 'no bankruptcy, no loans, and no new taxes.' Acting on these, he insisted on economy in expenditure: grants of monopolies and pensions were to be as far as possible abolished, and the extravagance of Versailles

checked. Louis XVI himself set the example by reducing his hunting-stud and the expenses of the royal household. Besides this system of retrenchment, Turgot in 1774 abolished the laws which prohibited the transportation of corn from one province to another and fixed a maximum price. He declared rightly that such interference, by discouraging farmers from growing corn, aided instead of preventing famine. Unfortunately, his Free-trade Edict was followed by bad harvests, and the privileged classes persuaded the people that the dearth was due to the new corn laws.

Free trade
in corn
estab-
lished.

Turgot had made himself disliked, not only by the Court, but by everybody who had interests to be endangered by real reforms. In 1776 he brought Six Edicts before the Parlement of Paris for registration. One ^{The Six Edicts, 1776.} abolished the *corvée* and proposed to substitute for it a tax on all landed property, whether it belonged to peasant, or priest, or noble. Another swept away the *Jurandes*, or privileges of the merchant guilds, which had made it difficult for men to learn a craft or trade. The Parlement indignantly opposed the Edicts until it was forced to give way by a *Lit de Justice*.

Louis was by this time wavering in his support of the reformer, for Maurepas, who was jealous of his colleague, joined with the Court in constantly urging his dismissal. Turgot himself was lacking in tact, and his attitude was far from conciliatory. 'It was weakness, sire,' he said bluntly, 'that laid the head of Charles I on the block.' The King grew weary of such warnings, and in May, 1776, dismissed the one man who might have saved his throne.

Turgot had shown himself a statesman of independent mind. It was unfortunate that he was not in office long enough to give his plans of reform a fair trial. He had ^{Turgot's administrative schemes.}

hoped to interest the people in politics by forming a series of assemblies rising in gradation from a parish meeting to a national council. Their members were to be elected, and while the central assembly was to advise the King, the provincial bodies were to be employed in local business.

Necker
becomes
Director
of the
Finances,
1776.

§ 13 The
Foreign
Ministry of
Vergennes,
1774-87.

§ 14. The
War of
American
Independ-
ence,
1775-83.

War be-
tween Eng-
land and
France,
1778-83.

Necker, the new minister of finance, had none of Turgot's genius. A Genevan banker, he was a sound, hardworking man of business, experienced in financial matters, but incapable of dealing with a crisis. He tried to check the extravagance of the Court, but he suffered from the interference of Maurepas, and was too timid to initiate a bold policy of his own. Circumstances were also against him, for in 1778 France embarked on a foreign war that made the bankruptcy of her treasury practically incurable. Vergennes, the foreign minister from 1774 to 1787, was a disciple of the Duc de Choiseul, and hoped to raise the reputation of France by attacking England with the reconstructed navy and army. His opportunity came in the rebellion of the American colonists against their mother country. Vergennes at first helped the rebels secretly, but after their Declaration of Independence in 1776 he sent them large sums of money and allowed the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French noble, to raise volunteer corps in their favour.

In 1778 he embarked on an open struggle with England, which raged all over the world, wherever the two nationalities met. The war was immensely popular and temporarily successful. In 1779 Spain, on the strength of the Bourbon alliance, joined France, and the naval supremacy of England seemed shaken, for in the following year Catherine II of Russia headed a League known as 'The Armed Neutrality'. This was a protest

of nearly every maritime power in Europe against British The claims to search neutral vessels for contraband ; that is, ^{Armed} _{Neutrality}, for arms and ammunition which they might be taking to 1780. the enemy. The league declared that the English Govern- ment exceeded its rights in seizing corn, iron, hemp and other cargoes on neutral vessels, which were not contra- band in the accepted sense of the word, and in insisting that certain ports were in a state of blockade which in reality were not so. It was prepared to defend the interests of its members by treating any future attacks on neutral vessels as a declaration of war.

England by this stood isolated, for even her former ally, Holland, joined the league ; and, to add to her difficulties, Ireland was on the verge of rebellion, while revolt had broken out in India under Hyder Ali.

The Bourbon allies made great efforts to seize Gibraltar, but in 1780 it was relieved by the English Admiral Rodney, who two years later utterly destroyed a French fleet in the West Indies under De Grasse, and thus saved Jamaica and the Barbadoes. These victories were counterbalanced by the continuous success of the Americans and the capture of Minorca by the Spaniards.

In 1783 the belligerents agreed to the Treaty of The Treaty of Versailles. France recovered much she had lost during the ^{of Ver-} _{sailles,} Seven Years' War and in the present maritime struggle. ^{1783.} Her possessions in the East Indies were assured, as well as S. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies, and Senegal and Goree on the African coast. Spain kept Minorca and recovered Florida. England remained the dominant power in the West Indies, but she was forced to acknow-

ledge the existence of 'the United States'. A survey of the struggle and its results would seem to justify the warlike policy of Vergennes. The French had profited by American trade, and had punished their hereditary foe, but in reality England had suffered the least of the two. The greater part of North America was lost to her for ever, but she soon recovered her commercial prosperity and national prestige. France, on the other hand, was ruined, for the heavy expenses of the war had laid an almost irremediable burden of debt upon the national revenues.

Effect of the War of American Independence on France.

Apart from financial reasons, it had been most unwise of Louis XVI to support America. The French troops who crossed the Atlantic to fight against England returned home enthusiastic believers in liberty and independence. Paris rang with the praises of men who had defied their King. When Joseph II was in France in 1777, a lady said to him, 'Are not your sympathies with those dear Americans?' 'No, Madam', replied the Emperor; 'it is my rôle to be a royalist!' Had Louis XVI possessed the intelligence of his brother-in-law, he would have realized the danger to an absolute King of encouraging rebellion even amongst the subjects of an enemy.

§ 15. The ministry and fall of Necker, 1776-81.

Two years before the Peace of Versailles Necker had fallen from power: the cause was the publication of his famous *Compte Rendu*, or account of the condition of the revenues. This he had issued, hoping to gain public favour, for in it he showed that, as a result of his ministry, there was now a surplus in the treasury instead of a deficit. Such a picture was unfortunately imaginary, for the financier had omitted to note the extra expenses of the war and the heavy loans he had contracted to meet them.

France, unaware of the deception, was overjoyed at Necker's declaration, but Maurepas and the Court were

furious. It was contrary to the *ancien régime* that any light should be thrown on matters of finance. As Louis also disliked Necker, he was dismissed in 1781, and he retired to his country house amid popular demonstrations of sympathy even more enthusiastic than those that had been offered to Choiseul.

In the same year Maurepas died and Louis XVI now § 16. Cha-
fell under the influence of his young Queen, Marie Antoinette, who up till now had exerted little political power. She was already regarded with suspicion as 'the Austrian woman', and this distrust was intensified by her own behaviour. Though a daughter of Maria Theresa, she had inherited none of her mother's statesmanlike qualities: her attitude to a minister rested solely on her personal like or dislike, without any regard to his capacity for business. She was heedless of public opinion and frank to indiscretion in expressing her thoughts. Thus she made many enemies, and provided them with the means of attacking her through her careless words and actions.

It was unfortunate that she did not realize the real misery and distress of the lower classes in France, or how their sufferings were aggravated in their eyes by the contrast of a luxurious Court. In her youth and carelessness she merely wanted to enjoy herself, and was unwilling to listen to the gloomy warnings of Turgot and Necker, or to support her husband in his efforts to economize.

In the autumn of the year 1781 the birth of a much-
hoped-for heir won for the Queen a transient popularity. Birth
of the
Dauphin,
1781.
The appointment of Calonne as Controller-General in 1783 appeared to bring a lull in the quarrels between the Court and the Government. The new minister of finance § 17. The
ministry of
Calonne,
1783-7.
expressed himself ready to fill the treasury without having recourse to anything so dull as strict economy, and

the fallacious statistics of Necker's *Compte Rendu* made this appear possible to the casual observer.

Calonne soon showed himself an adventurer in political as he was in private life. His method of obtaining money was to contract loans as steadily in a time of peace as Necker had done during the war, and to keep up credit by encouraging expenditure. He himself declared that he acted on the maxim that 'he who would borrow must appear rich'.

Perhaps he hoped that a sudden increase of trade would enable the Government to meet its debts; it is probable he merely wished to win popularity for the time being with the Court and nation; but though he succeeded in this, he could not avert the final crash.

Maurepas had once prophesied that Calonne, if he were minister, 'would empty the treasury as quickly as he had emptied his own purse,' and in 1786 the Controller-General was forced to confess to the King that the Government was bankrupt. His only suggestions were, to call an Assembly of Notables, that is, of the leading subjects of the realm, to discuss the situation and to follow a policy of strict retrenchment. 'What!' said the King, 'it is Necker pure and simple that you propose.' Calonne agreed, but added that he had nothing better to offer.

§ 18. The Assembly of Notables.

In 1787 the Assembly of Notables met, for Louis XVI felt the need of advice in this desperate crisis. As it consisted chiefly of members of the privileged orders, it was not inclined to agree to Calonne's suggested reforms, which included the imposition of a land tax such as Turgot had levied. Instead, it censured the proceedings of the Controller-General, who was sent into banishment.

§ 19. The ministry of Brienne, 1787-8.

His place was taken by Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a man of loose morals and few religious beliefs. He recognized, however, that the future existence of the

Government depended on immediate reform, and he won the consent of the Notables to some of Calonne's proposals. They were then dismissed, but not till after one of the members, the Marquis de Lafayette of American fame, had suggested the summoning of the States-General.

Brienne, in his endeavours to restore financial peace, came into collision with the old enemy of Turgot, the Parlement of Paris. This court refused to register an edict imposing a land tax until it was compelled by a *Lit de Justice*, and then showed its determination some days later by declaring such enforced registrations to be null and void. The refractory members, who were instantly exiled, were regarded as martyrs, not only by the privileged classes whose interests they were upholding, but by the lower classes also, who saw them punished for resisting an unpopular Government.

Brienne realized he must be firm or he would be ruined. The Parlement was recalled, but on its refusal to register an edict for raising a loan in the spring of 1788, it was abolished, together with its fellow law courts, and a new *Cour Plénière* was established to undertake its duties.

Seventeen years before, Louis XV had dealt in a similar manner with the lawyers who opposed him. France had murmured but she had not rebelled, for she had thought that the King was old and that with him would die the arbitrary character of the *ancien régime*. Now she saw that she had been deceived: there was a new King, but the old order still continued. The suppression of the Parlements was followed by riots in different parts of the country and, through the distress caused by a famine in the winter of 1788, these developed into quite serious local rebellions.

Meanwhile Louis had taken two steps, by which he hoped to allay the popular anger. He had dismissed

Suppres-
sion of
Parlement
1788.

The *Cour
Plénière*.

Fall of
Brienne.

Necker
recalled,
1788.

§ 20. The
summon-
ing of the
States-
General.

Brienne in the summer of 1788 and recalled Necker, a minister most distasteful to himself, but the national hero of seven years before. More important than this, he had adopted the proposal of Lafayette and summoned a States-General to meet in the spring of 1789.

Never had the King made a more momentous decision, although he was probably the last person to realize it. True to his autocratic upbringing, he believed he was merely summoning a body of his subjects to assent to measures on which he should have by that time determined. This had not been the idea of Lafayette, nor was it the idea of France. Privileged and unprivileged classes alike saw in the meeting of the States-General an occasion when King and nation should at last speak openly face to face. It remained to be seen which of these two views would triumph in 1789.

CHAPTER V

THE LITERARY MOVEMENT

§ 1. Voltaire. § 2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau. § 3. The *Encyclopædia*. § 4. The 'Storm and Stress' period in German literature. § 5. Von Goethe. § 6. Schiller.

MENTION has been made in preceding chapters of § 1. Voltaire, the French philosopher and wit, who stayed at ^{1694-1778.} the Court of Frederick the Great until his own vanity and the King's lack of manners abruptly cut short their friendship. No history of Western Europe in the eighteenth century would be complete without some account of this remarkable man, described by a contemporary as 'le grand homme du siècle'.

Voltaire was the son of a Poitevin notary, and his real name was François-Marie Arouet. He was born in Paris in 1694, and thus witnessed the decline of France during the last years of Louis XIV and throughout the long and inglorious reign of Louis XV. He died in 1778, on the eve of a revolution for which he himself had helped to prepare the way.

In his own person he had experienced many of the evils of the *ancien régime*. Twice he had been arbitrarily and unjustly imprisoned in the Bastille. On the first occasion he was declared the author of some verses on Louis XIV, which bore a certain resemblance to his style but had not been written by him. On the second, he was the victim of the abuse of privilege, which he afterwards so strongly condemned. A certain young noble having dared to address him with impertinence, Voltaire delivered a well-deserved snub. He was then

seized by the gentleman's lacqueys and beaten; and when he demanded reparation for this insult he was hurried off to prison by means of a *lettre de cachet*, and only released on condition that he would leave Paris.

Voltaire in England. He retired to England, and the contrast which he noticed between the state of society there and in his native land turned him from a poet, angry at his own misfortunes, into a philosopher burning with indignation at the wrongs of France.

He noticed the comfortable houses of many of the poor people and their prosperity, endangered by no fears of an arbitrary increase of taxation. He was astonished that the younger sons of peers did not disdain to embark in commerce, but what struck him most forcibly as a man of letters was the freedom of mind and speech enjoyed by Englishmen. Genius in art, or literature, or science was recognized and applauded on its own merits, apart from the rank of its possessors, whereas in France the favour of the Court must be bought by some eulogy on the royal house or a reigning favourite.

Voltaire's Letters on the English. In his *Letters on the English*, published in 1734, Voltaire expressed these sentiments and openly attacked the existing order of things in France, with the result that the French Government commanded his work to be burnt by the public executioner. The influence of the author, however, increased, and on leaving England he gathered round him at his home near Geneva a crowd of admirers, and his reputation as a philosopher, historian, and dramatist spread all over Europe.

Voltaire's chief gift did not lie in any originality of thought; his genius consisted in the boldness and clearness with which he wrote. He took the ideas of the average man of the day, the complaints he hardly dared

to murmur, the evils he was not brave enough to condemn openly, the doubts he hesitated to utter, and expressed them all in a style unsurpassed for lucidity and wit. His pen was like a rapier in its light mockery and searching keenness; it found out the weakness of the enemy's harness and was not turned aside by any reverence for tradition or the immunity of centuries. An institution might date from almost prehistoric days, but antiquity could not save it from the merciless satire of the philosopher if it had ceased to be of use.

Voltaire advocated many reforms that found their way into the petitions laid before the King in the States-General of 1789. He condemned the confusion of laws, which differed in one province and another; the inhumanity of the use of torture, and the harshness of the criminal code, that sentenced a servant-girl to death for the theft of a few spoons, or a peasant to the galleys for receiving smuggled salt.

He was ever the friend of justice and a generous supporter of the victims of an arbitrary Government, but he was not wholly in sympathy with the lower classes. He did not believe, like some philosophers, that to remove the institutions which were crushing the life of France would make her poorer population at once happy and prosperous: he was sorry for their misery, but he yet regarded them as *vile canaille*, and feared that a revolution in civil matters would let loose the vices of ignorance and passion. Thus his writings were negative in their influence: he destroyed what he thought corrupt and wrong, but he did not build in its place.

The chief object of his satire was the Church, for he regarded her as a tyrant enslaving the minds of men and stifling their convictions. In justice to this view, it must be admitted that Catholicism in France of the eighteenth

century deserved much of the blame bestowed upon it. It was an enemy to progress, for it forbade criticism and encouraged superstition ; and while it was merciless in its treatment of heretics, it did not reform its own worldliness and immorality.

It was a misfortune that Voltaire did not confine himself to condemning the Church, but in his bitterness he went further and attacked Christianity, declaring it to be identical with superstition and cruelty. In its place he advocated the law of each man's reason as the only standard of right and wrong ; but the weakness of this argument he himself supplied, when he admitted that reason could never sway the majority of men but could only be a law for educated people. Christianity must still be left to raise the masses.

In spite of such inconsistencies, the opinions of the philosopher were eagerly taken up by his contemporaries, for they appealed to an age which prided itself on believing in nothing and making mock of the traditions of the past. In France they had a special influence, for they expressed the discontent prevalent in nearly every mind. An attack on the Church was an attack on one of the strongholds of the *ancien régime*, and Voltaire in his work of destruction showed himself merely a representative of the spirit of his time, endowed with greater talent than his fellows.

§ 2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1712-78.

If Voltaire appealed to the intellect of his day, another author, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, stirred men's hearts and passions. Rousseau, the son of a Genevan watchmaker, was born in 1712, but he did not begin to write till he was nearly forty. He had passed all his life amongst the lower classes, and believed that in them alone were to be found the virtues of purity, honesty, and kindness of heart. Thus he devoted his time to attacking the

civil governments he saw around him, which protected the rich at the expense of the poor.

In 1755 he published his *Discourses on the Origin of Inequality*, in which he declared that there had been a golden age in the past, before laws existed, when all men had been free and equal, and therefore good and happy. Laws and governments brought inequality and led to crime. This startling doctrine had two fundamental errors. In the first place there is little possibility that such a golden age ever existed. Voltaire's view that 'primitive man is the dirtiest and most miserable of brutes, engaged merely in a fight for existence', is much nearer the truth. In the second, it was a mistake to tell men that the world was getting worse, and to advise them to take as their model a picture of what happened thousands of years ago. Rousseau himself realized that he had allowed his eloquence to carry him away and contradicted many of his views on 'inequality' in his later works; but the political agitators, who declared themselves his disciples, did not trouble to accept his corrections.

In his most famous work, *The Social Contract*, published in 1762, Rousseau expounded his democratic views on government. Sovereignty belonged to the people, and anybody who set himself up as a ruler without the national consent was a usurper. Even if a nation did choose a king or some other form of government, it did not entirely give up its sovereign power, but might at any time depose the master it had elected. Judged by this standard, the absolute monarchy in France, and indeed the government of nearly every power in Europe, was quite illegal and liable to be overthrown by the popular wish.

Rousseau's idea of the only true form of government

was that of an agreement or 'contract' drawn up by general consent to secure the happiness of each individual. Each man must have the same rights and be allowed to increase his own prosperity as much as possible. When the contract ceased to satisfy every one it became null and void. The practical difficulty of such a theory was, of course, the impossibility of making a whole nation believe that its interests lay in one direction; yet as soon as the will of the majority was allowed to decide questions, the whole idea of equality of rights vanished. The hostile minority had ceased to be a partner in the government and had become a servant.

Such discrepancies did not trouble those who chiefly accepted Rousseau's views. Inequality was the root evil of the French government, therefore its enemies made Equality their watchword. The writings of Rousseau taught men that the old idea of a sovereign ruling by divine right and inheritance was false, and that the will of the people was the only claim to power. Revolution was therefore not a crime, but a lawful means by which the people could regain the authority of which they had been robbed. The motto of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' was adopted by the revolutionists, who, in the name of the sovereign people, perpetrated crimes at which Jean-Jacques Rousseau would have shuddered.

Death of
Rousseau,
1778.

Rousseau did not hear his name hailed as a benefactor nor see his doctrines used as a text for anarchy. In 1778, a few months later than Voltaire, he died in England in poverty, as he had lived. The influence of his writings was immense, for his eloquence was the result of his own passionate beliefs, and spoke straight to the passions of other men. Its effects were not wholly inflammatory, for his writings were usually inspired with a love of nature that breathed a new spirit into the artificial life of the day.

His romance *La Nouvelle Héloïse* called into being *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. a sentiment which was perhaps merely a fashion but none the less healthy, a love of the country and of simple pursuits. Even Marie Antoinette forsook the card-tables of Versailles for the gardens of Le Trianon, close at hand, where she indulged her whim of playing the part of a village maiden, surrounded by a few of her most intimate friends. With a love of the country was introduced a respect for the natural affections, that had been lacking in the frivolous Court of Louis XV, where it is said it was even unfashionable to be in love. When Jean-Jacques Rousseau is condemned as the advocate of anarchy and licence, he must also be remembered as the enemy of what was artificial and false in the society of his day.

Both Voltaire and Rousseau were contributors to the *Encyclopédie*, of which the first volume appeared in 1751. *Encyclopédie*. This was a bulky work, intended to deal with every branch of human knowledge. It was published in Paris under the editorship of two authors, both famous in their day, D'Alembert and Diderot. These both lacked D'Alembert and Diderot. Voltaire's polished wit, but were no less daring in the thoughts they expressed. Political institutions were attacked, the Church condemned, and economic theories discussed.

It is needless to say that the *Encyclopédie* was not printed without some opposition from the Government. On one occasion the plates were taken to the Bastille by royal officials, and Diderot himself was in danger of imprisonment, but at length in 1777 all the volumes were complete. The *Encyclopédie* made a great impression not only in France but in Europe, and it is interesting to note that in its pages the abolition of slavery was demanded, and that Turgot, the

future Controller-General, expressed his views on 'free trade'.

§ 4. The
Storm
and Stress
period in
German
literature.

The literary movement of the closing years of the eighteenth century did not confine itself to France. Germany was passing through the *Sturm und Drang*, or 'Storm and Stress' period in her intellectual life, when her authors had just begun to shake off the narrow conventions and traditions of the past.

Lessing,
1729-81.

Lessing was one of the first writers to denounce the slavish imitation of the great French *littérateurs*, which hindered the originality of German thought. Before he died, two authors had appeared to convince the world that the language which Frederick the Great despised could be unsurpassed in the expression of noble thoughts and passionate feelings. John Wolfgang von Goethe was born in 1749 and lived to see his land trampled under foot by foreign soldiers; but the sight inspired in him no patriotic wrath, such as stirred the hearts of so many of his countrymen. Wrapped up in his own thoughts, he did not care under whose government he lived, nor did he take any interest in the social questions of his day. Yet though he lacked the sense of nationality himself, he unconsciously helped to inspire it in those around him: his pen 'created German literature', and, as it was said by a contemporary Frenchman, 'only by means of her literature is Germany a nation.' In 1774 he published a romantic drama, *The Sorrows of Werther*, which soon made him famous throughout Europe; and it was even said that several love-sick youths committed suicide in imitation of the unhappy hero. Others of his plays were *Egmont*, *Torquato Tasso*, and *Hermann und Dorothea*. It has been claimed that Goethe as a dramatist stands only second to Shakespeare, while he was undoubtedly the leading

§ 5. Von
Goethe,
1749-1832.

poet of his generation. His best known poem is probably *Faust*, which describes the struggle between man's higher and lower nature and shows that the soul can alone find salvation in a constant war with evil.

Goethe lived the greater part of his life at the little Court of Weimar, which became a literary centre of Germany, and it was there that he met Schiller, another poet, whose fame for a time seemed likely to dim his own, but with whom he nevertheless formed a strong friendship. Schiller was ten years younger than Goethe, and took the older poet for his literary guide. He himself was inspired by an intense love of liberty, and his first play, *The Robbers*, was a eulogy of a free life untrammelled by the harsh laws of the State. His last tragedy, *William Tell*, won for him the reputation of a patriotic poet, but he did not live to see his country freed from foreign rule. He died in 1805, but his literary works, like those of Goethe, made Germany as a nation famous in the eyes of Europe.

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BOOK II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789-99

CHAPTER VI

THE DOWNFALL OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

§ 1. The States-General of 1789. § 2. The Comte de Mirabeau.
§ 3. The Abbé Sieyès. § 4. The *Tiers État* constitute themselves a National Assembly. § 5. State of Paris in 1789. § 6. The fall of the Bastille. § 7. The Constituent Assembly. § 8. The Constitution of 1790-91. § 9. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1791. § 10. The march of the women on Versailles. § 11. Policy of Mirabeau. § 12. The flight to Varennes. § 13. The 'Massacre' of the Champ de Mars. § 14. The Legislative Assembly. § 15. France declares war on Austria. § 16. The invasion of the Tuilleries. § 17. Invasion of France by Austria and Prussia. § 18. Attack on the Tuilleries of August 10. § 19. The September massacres. § 20. Meeting of the National Convention.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

England.

George III, 1760-1820.

The Papacy.

Pius VI, 1775-99.

France.

Louis XVI, 1774-92.
The Republic, 1792-99.

The Empire.

Joseph II, 1765-90.
Leopold II, 1790-92.
Francis II, 1792-1804.

Spain.

Charles III, 1759-88.
Charles IV, 1788-1808.

Prussia.

Portugal.

Maria I, 1786-1816.

Frederick William II, 1786-97.
Frederick William III, 1797-1840.

*Denmark and Norway.**Sweden.*

Frederick VI (Regent), 1784–1808. Gustavus III, 1771–92.
Gustavus IV, 1792–1809.

Russia.

Catherine II, 1762–96.
Paul I, 1796–1801.

The Ottoman Empire.

Selim III, 1789–1807.

AFTER a lapse of 175 years a meeting of the representatives of the French nation was at length summoned. It is hard for modern minds, accustomed to the regular sessions of Parliament, to realize what an experiment was about to be tried. Between the men of 1789 and the proceedings of the last States-General intervened the veil of a century and a half's obscurity. The questions arose, What had been done by the Estates of 1614? and, even if that were known, would it be wise in the closing years of the eighteenth century to follow their example?

The English Parliament has grown with the nation, but the States-General of France had found no chance of such a development. It was still a mediaeval council. Its members did not assemble as legislators but as petitioners, for they brought with them *cahiers*, or petitions, from their constituencies, which they humbly asked the Crown to grant. In return they gave sums of money; but, as they voted the taxes before the King redressed their grievances, they had no guarantee of amendment save his promises.

Louis XVI was prepared to meet the deputies of the Estates with concessions, but the nation wished for more than this. The privileged orders desired the old Government considerably changed, while the *Tiers État* were anxious for an entirely new constitution. This difference of opinion between the Estates opened up fresh problems.

The *Tiers État* represented the backbone of France, the bulk of the taxpayers; should they not be given a double number of deputies to add weight to their views? Necker, as first minister, answered in the affirmative, but the weakness which he displayed with regard to the second question nullified this popular decision. The

Question of the double representation of the *Tiers État*, and of voting *par ordre* or *par tête*.

double representation of the *Tiers État* would be a mockery unless the votes of the assembly were taken *par tête*, that is man by man. The privileged classes clamoured for voting *par ordre*, that is by orders or estates; for then, no matter the number of deputies in the lowest estate, a union of the other two would always be able to defeat them. Necker, afraid of Court enmity on the one hand and of losing popular favour on the other, left the problem to be decided at the meeting of the States-General itself.

The *cahiers*.

Meanwhile the electors chose their representatives, and the *cahiers* of the three estates throughout France were drawn up. Many demands were common to all. The States-General was to be frequently summoned and given the control over all taxation. Accounts of the finance must be regularly published, and the burden of taxation more equitably apportioned. The laws were to be simplified, arbitrary justice abolished, and the criminal code lightened. Judicial proceedings were not to be kept secret. After this, divergence began. The *Tiers État* wished to abolish seigniorial law courts and feudal rights, and many deputies desired complete religious toleration. The nobles, on the other hand, clung to their privileges, and the Church was rigidly orthodox and determined to suppress any but the Catholic faith.

The meeting of the States. In May, 1789, the States-General met at Versailles. The procession of deputies on their way to Mass at the

Church of St. Louis was an impressive sight. In front came the *Tiers État*, in the black robes prescribed by custom. They were greeted by loud cheering from the mob, which received in silence the gaily clad nobles and the clergy in their rich vestments. The King in his turn was met with applause, but the Queen with almost open signs of dislike.

The deputies assembled afterwards in a large hall, called the *Salle des menus plaisirs*. Here they were addressed by Necker, who unwillingly admitted the national bankruptcy. His speech was characteristic of his inability to deal with a great crisis. He had had many months in which to draw up a programme of reform, but all that he offered the Estates was some financial shifts to lighten the deficit. There was a feeling of disappointment in the *Tiers État*: they had believed in the good will of Louis, and the majority would have been quite ready to look to him for guidance in their inexperience. It is difficult to overestimate the folly of the Government's inaction at this minute. Had the King come forward as a leader, he might still have controlled instead of being swept away by the revolution; but, yielding to his natural lethargy of mind, he had left the minister he disliked to act for the Crown, and Necker's incompetence was his ruin.

When the minister had finished his speech on the national debt, he left the Estates to debate on his proposals. It was assumed that each order would discuss their business separately; but the *Tiers État*, realizing that this would reduce them to impotency, refused to agree. The nobles and clergy withdrew to the separate rooms prepared for them, but those left behind in the large hall declined to elect a president or open a debate. They were not, they declared, 'an

estate,' but 'representatives of the French nation waiting to be joined by their fellows'. In pursuance of this policy they frequently summoned the other two orders to unite with them, but only some parish priests, more in sympathy with them than the rich bishops and abbés, answered their appeal.

Amongst the members of the *Tiers État* were many intelligent men, but few statesmen. The most striking deputy was undoubtedly Honoré-Gabriel, Comte de Mirabeau, a representative of the town of Aix in Provence. For some years his name had been a by-word in France for disorderly conduct: no less than twenty-one *lettres de cachet* had been served on him, though on one occasion at least by his own wish, that he might evade, by a short time in prison, the creditors to whom he was indebted through his prodigality. Once he had even been under capital sentence, but it was never meant to be executed.

He had aroused the enmity and contempt of his own order by espousing the cause of the *Tiers État*, and he was disliked by the King and his ministers for a shameless publication of some secret correspondence, in which he had been concerned as a French agent, between Prussia and the French Government. In spite of his infamous reputation and extremely unprepossessing looks, he had made himself the hero of the lower classes in Provence, and soon gained an equal influence over the Parisian mob. His loud voice and self-assertive manner, which were out of place in the aristocratic calm of the Court, carried conviction to the crowds who listened to him. He was a born orator, and, though devoid of principle in his private life, was no mere demagogue ready to feed popular vanity.

'Mirabeau knew everything and foresaw everything', said a contemporary. He alone realized the length to which reform must go, and was prepared to direct the course of events. 'The monarchy,' he wrote, 'is imperilled by lack of government. If no pilot is found, it is likely enough the vessel may drive on the rocks: but if . . . a man of capacity were called to the helm, you can have little idea how easy it would be to steer into deep water.'

Unfortunately, the third estate as a whole distrusted Mirabeau more than they appreciated his eloquence and genius. It was often enough for the Comte to vote for a measure to ensure its failure. The acknowledged leaders of the lower orders were Bailly, the astronomer, afterwards elected as president, and the Abbé Sieyès, an author famous at the time for his democratic writings. ^{§ 3. The Abbé Sieyès.} The best known of these was a pamphlet beginning, 'What is the *Tiers État*?—everything. What has it been until now?—nothing. What does it ask to be?—something.'

After a last appeal had been made to the nobles and clergy, the *Tiers État*, at the suggestion of Sieyès, took a bold step and declared themselves a 'national assembly', on the grounds that their deputies represented the majority of the nation. The King closed the hall in which they met, but such a feeble device could not shake the obstinacy of the deputies. They ad- journed to a neighbouring tennis court, and there took an oath that they would not suffer themselves to be dissolved until they had framed a new constitution. This bold attitude brought many more of the clergy of inferior rank over to their side.

Louis XVI now held a royal *séance*, for he was prompted by the Queen and Court that he must ^{The royal} *séance*.

show firmness. He therefore disregarded the National Assembly altogether, and commanded that the votes in future should be taken *par ordre*. On his departure an effort was made to induce the *Tiers État* to quit the hall, but Mirabeau rising to his feet declared that 'they would only be expelled at the point of the bayonet'. 'Gentlemen,' said Sieyès, with quiet significance, 'you are to-day what you were yesterday.'

As usual in the face of determined opposition, the King collapsed. 'Very well, let them remain!' he answered, when news was brought him of the deputies' decision. Many nobles now joined the National Assembly, headed by the liberal-minded Marquis de Lafayette, and the rest, reluctantly obeying a royal command, followed their example in a few days.

The representatives of the people had passed through a time of great crisis and had emerged triumphant. Louis XVI, on the other hand, had lowered his dignity. At the advice of Necker he had yielded to the Assembly, and he was conscious that his concession had appeared mere weakness. At the instigation of the Queen and his brothers he dismissed his hated minister, and began to mass troops in the neighbourhood of Versailles, in spite of remonstrances from Mirabeau and his colleagues.

Such steps aroused the indignation of Paris, as well as of the National Assembly. Necker, whose pomposity and vacillation made him disliked by those who had to associate with him, was still the hero of the nation. Paris was at this time in great distress; bad harvests and the cruel winter of 1788-9 had resulted in famine, only increased by the bread riots throughout France, in which granaries and shops were pillaged. The meeting of the States-General had aroused extravagant

The King
masses
troops in
the neigh-
bourhood
of Ver-
sailles.

§ 5. State
of Paris
in 1789.

hopes amongst the starving mob. The representatives of the people were expected in some mysterious way to immediately lower the price of corn and increase its abundance.

The middle classes did not share these delusions, but they believed in the necessity of drastic changes. Clubs were formed, where politics were discussed, and ^{The} penniless attorneys bitterly attacked 'privileges' and ^{Parisian} ^{Clubs.} preached republican doctrines. One of the most famous was that of 'the Cordeliers', whose chief spokesman was the future leader, Danton. Another centre of sedition was the Palais-Royal, the residence of the King's cousin, the Duke of Orleans. This worthless, ^{Philip,} unprincipled man hoped to ruin Louis XVI, and even ^{Duke of} ^{Orleans.} to supplant him, and his house was open at all hours to the mob, who were encouraged to magnify their own sufferings, and to revolt against the Crown.

On the news of Necker's dismissal, riots became ^{Necker is} ^{dismissed,} general in Paris, and the merchants and shopmen, ^{July 11,} terrified by the thought of anarchy, elected new ^{1789.} muni-^{cipal} officers, and raised a force of armed civilians. These became known as 'National Guards', and the Marquis de Lafayette was placed at their head. The mob, however, was in the mood for mischief and quite out of hand ; more arms were wanted, and, moved by a sudden impulse, the crowd marched on the Bastille. ^{§ 6. The} ^{fall of the} This fortress was now merely a state prison, guarded ^{Bastille,} only by a small garrison, chiefly members of a Swiss ^{July 14,} regiment. The governor at first fired on the mob, but, ^{1789.} realizing he had only provisions for two days, he consented to surrender, on a condition of safe-conduct for all within. The more orderly amongst the insurgents tried to carry out this promise and protect the garrison, but, in spite of their efforts, the governor and others

were murdered. The Bastille itself was levelled with the ground.

The news of the fall of this monument of arbitrary government was received with the wildest enthusiasm not only in France but throughout Europe. The Revolution had begun, the old régime was dead, and men of every country rejoiced to see the dawn of a new age.

Necker
recalled,
July 16,
1789.

Louis himself went to Paris, and there promised to withdraw the troops from the neighbourhood of the capital and to recall Necker. Bailly, who had been elected mayor of the new municipality, decorated his master with the 'tricolour cockade', a badge devised to combine the red and blue of the city of Paris with the royal shade of white; and the mob, pacified by the sight, shouted 'Long live the King!'

Results of
the fall
of the
Bastille.

The immediate results of the fall of the Bastille were the enrolment of National Guards and the election of municipal officers in every town throughout France. In the country districts the peasants rose and destroyed some of the neighbouring châteaux, with the deeds containing their feudal obligations. In Paris itself the riot ended with the murder of Fouillon, who had been nominated to succeed Necker; but a feeling of alarm had infected the Court, and the King's brothers, the Counts of Provence and Artois, with many of the leading nobles, quitted France, thus forming the first band of an ever-increasing number of *émigrés*.

§ 7. The
Con-
stituent
Assembly.

All privi-
leges are
abolished.

Meanwhile the National, or Constituent Assembly, as it was generally called, was hard at work on the new constitution. Inexperience and the prevailing excitement resulted in many defects. The new law-givers were quicker far to destroy than to construct. In one evening the privileges and unequal taxation of the

ancien régime were swept away, and amid loud applause Louis XVI was declared 'the restorer of the liberty of his people'. When it came to the problem of construction, much valuable time was wasted over the wording of a 'Declaration of Rights' which was to form an introduction to the constitution. The document suffered from the undue influence of Rousseau on the minds of those who framed it. There was too much talk about 'the sovereign people', and 'the natural rights of man', and in the constitution itself there was too little willingness shown to profit by the experience of others. A suggestion, that the legislature should have two chambers, was rejected merely because the sons of new-born freedom scorned to copy Englishmen.

The new constitution also erred in applying the method of election too widely. France was divided up into eighty departments, each controlled by councils of elected officials. The old Parlements were replaced by courts with elected judges, while the Legislative Assembly itself was to be chosen by all those who paid a certain proportion of taxes. These reforms were steps in the right direction, but a country which had never before been allowed political power was hardly fitted to receive all at once so much responsibility.

The Crown could still appoint royal ministers, but these were not allowed to sit in the assembly, for fear that they should influence its actions. The King himself was only left with the power of vetoing for six months a measure of which he disapproved, and he thus became in very truth 'the servant of the State'.

Louis could have borne this diminution of his prerogative better than the attack on the Church, made in the civil constitution of the clergy of 1791. Re-

clergy,
1791.

ligious toleration had already been secured. It was now decided to confiscate ecclesiastical property and abolish monasteries and convents, while the number of bishoprics was reduced to one for each department. In its passion for the principle of election, the Constituent Assembly decided that the bishops and clergy must be elected to their sees and benefices. This aroused great opposition, for it directly contravened the laws of the Roman Catholic Church; and when it was further ordered that every priest must take an oath to uphold the civil constitution or else resign his living, the majority of the bishops and many of the other clergy refused the oath, and thus a schism in the Church began.

During the debates on the constitution, Louis XVI had been earning renewed unpopularity, for it had leaked out that he was meditating a flight to the provinces on the advice of the Queen, and that troops were again being brought into the neighbourhood of the capital. Marie Antoinette was known to wish for an invasion of France by the Austrians, under her brother the Emperor Leopold, with whom the majority of the *émigrés* had taken refuge.

Popular indignation was also stirred to white heat by tales of a banquet, given at Versailles in honour of some foreign regiments, at which the royal family were said to have been present and the tricolour trodden under foot.

§ 10. The
march of
the women
on Ver-
sailles,
Oct. 5,
1789.

On October 5 a band of women collected, shouting that they were starving, and marched on Versailles, followed by a mob of armed men. They surrounded the palace, and some made their way in and would have murdered the Queen, but for the devotion of one of her guards, who was killed defending her door while

she had time to escape. The rioters were finally quelled by a contingent of the National Guard, which appeared under Lafayette; but the King and his family were forced to go to Paris and take up their abode in the Tuileries, where they remained virtually prisoners. With a strange lack of judgement, the National Assembly also removed to the capital, and thus put itself at the mercy of the growing revolutionary factions.

The King and his family are removed to Paris.

Mirabeau alone seemed to grasp the fact that the State was drifting into anarchy. He now tried to persuade the King, through one of his friends who was a courtier, to adopt him as a secret adviser; but Louis and the Queen, mindful of his past reputation, both distrusted him. He managed, however, to secure the Resignation of Necker, who on this occasion quitted office without arousing any popular indignation. France had Sept., 1790. at length read aright the character of that much overrated statesman, whose incapacity was one great cause of the disasters of the time.

Mirabeau's policy was to avoid foreign war at all costs, § 11. for the army was disorganized by the flight of many of its officers and by indiscipline resulting from the influence of revolutionary ideas. He feared that the French forces would be beaten, and that defeat would only inflame popular passion. On the other hand, he considered that a civil war might be quite efficacious, for moderate men would rally to the King, and with their aid anarchy could be quelled. Louis was both too patriotic and too slothful to approve of such suggestions. He hated the thought of civil strife, and still meditated an escape from France as the best way out of his difficulties. In April, 1791, by the death of Mirabeau, he lost the chance which he had been offered, and the last restraining voice was removed from the debates of the Assembly.

Death of Mirabeau, April, 1791.

§ 12. The flight to Varennes, June 20, 1791.

Two months later the King and Queen were arrested at Varennes in an attempt to cross the frontier. Louis had left behind him a paper stating his hostility to the new constitution, and retracting the oath which he had taken to it; and henceforth all pretence at friendship between him and the nation was broken down.

§ 13. The 'Massacre' of the Champ de Mars, July 17, 1791.

Danton, the head of the Cordelier Club, collected a crowd of citizens on the Champ de Mars, and tried to induce them to sign a manifesto, demanding the deposition of the King; but Lafayette and the National Guard dispersed the throng with some bloodshed, and their leader was forced to quit France.

The Constituent Assembly is dissolved, Sept. 30, 1791.

In the autumn the Constituent Assembly, after passing the foolish decree that its members might not be re-elected, dissolved itself. Thus the experience of two years was wasted, and the Legislative Assembly that met in October was composed of entirely new politicians.

§ 14. The Legislative Assembly. The Girondins.

The most important faction in this new body received the name of the Girondins from its leaders, who were deputies of the Departments of the Gironde, in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux. The Girondins were hostile to Louis, and wished to make him unpopular. They therefore desired a war with Austria, as he would then be forced either to condemn as traitors his brothers, who were with the *émigrés* in the imperial camp, or else to show himself publicly as the enemy of the nation.

The Jacobins.

The rivals of the Girondins were the Jacobins, but they had more influence in the Parisian clubs, from one of which they took their name, than in the Legislative Assembly. They numbered amongst them firebrands, such as Danton, who had returned from exile, and Marat, the editor of an inflammatory newspaper, *L'Ami du peuple*. Their policy was to encourage external

peace, for they feared a foreign war might put an end to the anarchy at home from which they gained their power. They frankly desired to rid themselves of the King, and to establish a republic.

Relations between France and Austria had been ^{The Treaty of Pilnitz, 1791.} strained ever since the imprisonment of the King and Queen, and in 1791 Leopold signed the Treaty of Pilnitz with Frederick William II of Prussia, in which they agreed to co-operate against France, if other nations would join them. This was not followed up; but the mere declaration exasperated the French, and the young Count de Narbonne, who had been made Foreign Minister at the close of the year 1791, prepared for war with Francis II, who had just succeeded his father in the Empire.

Narbonne did not belong to either of the factions in the Legislative Assembly, for he was a partisan of the King, and hoped to restore the credit of the monarchy ^{1791-2.} by a popular foreign campaign. Before he could carry out his policy he was dismissed, and a ministry of the Girondins came into power. The Minister of the Interior was Roland, chiefly known for his more famous wife, who entirely controlled his policy. Madame Roland was very clever and courageous, but her influence was vitiated by her hatred for Marie Antoinette, which made her place ^{March, 1792.} an attack on the royal family before every other consideration. Dumouriez, a man of many talents and few principles, took over the foreign office, and in April, 1792, declared war on Austria. ^{§ 15. France declares war on Austria April, 1792.}

Three armies, one of them under Lafayette, invaded the Netherlands, but almost immediately suffered defeat, chiefly owing to their lack of discipline. The majority of the officers of the *ancien régime* had joined the *émigrés*; their successors and those who were left were distrusted

by the soldiers. The doctrines of 'natural equality' and 'the rights of man' had spread to the camp, and led to frequent mutiny and desertion. One of the invading columns was overcome by panic, and, turning in headlong flight, murdered its general.

The cry of treachery, which might more truthfully have been that of cowardice, was raised in Paris, and increased the general suspicion felt of the royal family. Dumouriez introduced a decree into the Legislative Assembly directed against the priests refusing to take the oath, and another organizing a camp of defence close to the walls of Paris. The King placed his veto upon both measures, while unwisely agreeing to disband a number of his guards. The ministry promptly resigned, and this gave the signal for a popular demonstration.

The King vetoes some Decrees of the Legislative Assembly.

§ 16. The invasion of the Tuileries, June, 1792.

A mob invaded the Tuileries, and Louis was commanded to withdraw his vetoes, but with unwonted steadfastness he refused. For some hours he and the Queen were subject to the insults and threats of the angry crowd, and he was forced to don the red cap of liberty, and to drink to the health of the nation ; but he did not waver in his attitude of calm, and towards evening his tormentors dispersed.

§ 17. Invasion of France by Austria and Prussia.

The news of this outrage roused Francis II and his ally, Frederick William. The Austrian troops marched through the Netherlands ; the Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, invaded Champagne ; corps of *émigrés* supported either force, and, at the suggestion of one of the exiles, a manifesto was published by the Prussian duke, which declared that Paris would be held responsible for the safety of the royal family, and that any Frenchmen found in arms would be treated as rebels.

The result of this announcement was to fire national enthusiasm in France, and thousands of men were en-

rolled and sent to the front. Some volunteers from Marseilles appeared in Paris, marching to the tune of the *Ça ira*, which was immediately taken up as a republican air. They headed a determined attack on the ^{§ 18.} ~~Tuileries~~, which was defended by the Swiss and some of ^{tack on the} ~~Tuileries~~ of the National Guard. The King and Queen fled for ^{August 10,} ~~August 10,~~ ^{1792.} safety to the Legislative Assembly, and on their departure the National Guard fraternized with the mob, and the Swiss endeavouring to retreat to their barracks were massacred.

Louis XVI was suspended from his office, and imprisoned with his family in the Temple, and a new ministry now gained control of affairs. It had two main objects: the deposition of the King, and the formation of a National Convention to decide on a republican constitution. Its chief fear was that Lafayette, who was at the head of an army quite close to Paris, would march to the help of Louis XVI; but that general had no power over his troops, and, on their refusal to follow him, he fled to join the allies.

The Marquis de Lafayette had been but a broken reed for the King to lean on. He was an honest man, and a brave soldier; but he equalled Necker in vanity, and showed the same inability to act in a crisis. He had been one of those desirous of a changed constitution, and eager to draw up a Declaration of Rights on the American model; but in practical matters he was without a policy, and vacillated between the Crown and its opponents.

On his departure, Dumouriez was sent to take his place; but the French forces still suffered defeat. The ^{Dumouriez goes to} ~~the front.~~ Austrians took the town of Lille, and the Prussians captured Longwy and Verdun in Lorraine, and then proceeded to march on Paris.

The Marquis de Lafayette joins the allies.

§ 19. The
September
massacres.

Panic prevailed in the capital at these disastrous tidings, and as a result of rage and fear about 200 armed men assembled and massacred those confined in the prisons. They were instigated by Danton, now a member of the ministry, and some of the chief republicans in the Assembly. Neither age nor sex were spared, and there was no attempt at justice. Many ordinary criminals as well as aristocrats perished in those four days of carnage, and over forty of the victims were boys under eighteen years of age. The Princess de Lambelle, a great friend of the Queen, was brutally murdered, and her head carried on a pike before the windows of the Temple.

The example of these massacres was followed in many of the large towns of France, such as Rheims and Lyons; yet they were not the work of the whole nation, but only of a small party supported by the mob, in whom hunger and misgovernment had aroused a thirst for blood. The greater part of the population of Paris was apathetic to the fate of the aristocrats, and had taken no share in the murders. Its attention was fixed wholly on the war.

The vic-
tory of
Valmy,
Sept. 20,
1792.§ 20. Meet-
ing of the
National
Conven-
tion, Sept.
20, 1792.

Soon after the massacres came the news of a victory, gained by Dumouriez at Valmy against the Prussians. It was not a great battle, but it served to damp the enthusiasm of the allies, and to rekindle the patriotism of the French. On the very day of the battle the National Convention met, and declared France a republic. The reign of Louis XVI was over, and the former King, now mere citizen Capet, was kept a close prisoner till the new government should decide on his fate.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

§ 1. Holland in the eighteenth century. § 2. Frederick William II becomes King of Prussia. § 3. Revolt of the Netherlands. § 4. The Triple Alliance of 1788. § 5. Gustavus III invades Russia. § 6. Invasion of Sweden by the Danes. § 7. Revolution in Sweden. § 8. Treaty of Verela. § 9. Policy of Frederick William II. § 10. The Emperor Leopold II. § 11. The Conference of Reichenbach. § 12. Leopold II and Hungary. § 13. Leopold II and the Belgian Republic. § 14. The Congress of the Hague. § 15. The Affair of Nootka Sound. § 16. Disputes between Leopold II and the French Government. § 17. The Manifesto of Padua. § 18. The Death of Leopold II.

HOLLAND in the middle of the eighteenth century was a small republic composed of a federation of provinces, united by their allegiance to a Stadtholder, whose office was hereditary in the House of Orange. Prince Frederick William of Prussia once declared that the Government 'possessed all the advantages of a monarchy without any of the disadvantages'; but this description, called forth by the marriage of his sister with William V, Prince of Orange, was more flattering than truthful. The Stadtholder could usually count on the support of the lower classes, especially in the country districts, but there was nearly always friction between him and 'the estates' of the different provinces, where the representatives of a rich and independent *bourgeoisie* defied his authority.

The traditional policy of Holland was friendship with England; but, during the War of American Independence, Holland.

dence, she had been induced to break this alliance and join the Armed Neutrality. This change of attitude was maintained, through the diplomacy of Vergennes, then French foreign minister, who by his refusal to countenance the Emperor Joseph's attempt to open the Scheldt¹, and his successful negotiation of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, earned the gratitude of the Netherland burghers. England stood isolated, and the House of Orange, which still clung to her friendship, was discredited. William V was deprived of his command of the army, and there was open talk of abolishing the hereditary Stadholdership.

Pitt, Prime Minister in England.

The younger Pitt, at that time Prime Minister of England, was anxious to support the House of Orange and yet was unwilling to embark on a war that would be certain to imperil the commercial relations which he hoped to establish with France. In this dilemma fortune came to his aid: Frederick the Great, who had taken up a persistently neutral attitude towards the internal affairs of the Northern Provinces, died in 1786, and was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William II, a brother-in-law of the Stadholder. The new King of Prussia was inclined both to form an English alliance and to assist his relations.

§ 2.
Frederick William II becomes King of Prussia.

§ 3. Revolt of the Netherlands.

A crisis occurred when some insurgents seized the Princess Wilhelmina of Orange on her way to the Hague, while her husband was forced to fly from that town. The princess appealed to her brother for help; the Patriots, as they called themselves, to France. Frederick William II replied by sending an army under the Duke of Brunswick into the Provinces, while England made preparations for war on her side of the Channel. Fortune was still faithful to Pitt, for the able Vergennes had

¹ See Chapter III. p. 40.

died in the early months of 1787, and the incapable Louis XVI, assisted by the equally vacillating Montmorin, had taken over control of foreign affairs. France, after shining brilliantly in European politics for a few years, now sank back into mediocrity. Her minister declared that his country had had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the Dutch Republic, and without any opposition Prussian arms restored the Stadtholder. 'France has fallen; I doubt if she will rise again', said Joseph II when he heard the news.

The triumph of the allies was followed by the formation of a Triple Alliance in 1788 between Prussia, England, and Holland, for 'mutual defence and the preservation of tranquillity and security'. This league was destined for five years to exert a great influence on European affairs, and Pitt through it brought his country out of her isolation and made her an important factor in continental politics.

The intervention of the alliance was soon required in the north, where the demolition of Sweden seemed likely to take place. In 1788 the Russo-Turkish War had just broken out, and while Catherine was occupied in despatching troops to the Crimea, Gustavus III seized the opportunity to harass his old enemy. In July of that year he landed in Finland and marched on St. Petersburg, and it appeared at the time that the capital would fall. The Tsarina was incredulous of such audacity. 'Do you really think this madman will attack me?' she asked her secretary; there seemed no doubt that he would, but a mutiny of his officers checked his progress. Ever since the *coup d'état* of 1772¹ the King had been as much loathed by the factions of the Hats and Caps as he was loved by the middle and lower classes. The

§ 4. Gustavus III invades Russia, Sept., 1788.

Mutiny of the Swedish officers.

¹ See p. 28.

nobles now took a shabby revenge for their overthrow and in the very face of the foe refused to fight ; and they even sent messages to Catherine offering to evacuate Finland. The King made a passionate appeal to the rank and file of his army, and they answered with shouts of 'We'll follow thee to death' ; but when the advance was sounded, their officers stood in the way and beat them back.

Gustavus saw that his cause on the mainland was lost, for it was impossible to fight with a mutinous staff, and soon he heard the news that his fleet had been repulsed by the Russians in the Baltic. Utterly humiliated, he returned home, where he was greeted by the tidings that the Danes had invaded Sweden by way of Norway, in the Tsarina's interest, and that the strong town of Gothenburg was likely to fall. This added disaster put new spirit into the King, who was never so great as in adversity. Deserted by the nobles, he determined to rely on the peasants, and hardly had he reached Stockholm before he set off for the central tableland of Sweden, known as the Dales. It was a rugged district, fertile only in minerals, and inhabited by a rough, hard-working population : there could be no greater outward contrast than the 'little king with the red heels', the fashionable hero of Versailles, and the begrimed miners who crowded round him, when he appeared, weary and almost unattended. Yet Gustavus knew the way to the hearts of these men : he descended into the mines, he talked freely with the workmen, and his patriotic oratory enkindled a wild enthusiasm. 'God be merciful unto us if aught besfall you !' they cried ; 'but God will help you soon or later.'

§ 6. Invasion of Sweden by the Danes, Sept., 1738.

Gustavus visits the Dales.

Gustavus saves Gothenburg.

Leaving one of his few faithful officers to enroll the Dalesmen, the King hurried to Gothenburg, where,

arriving at night time, he could hardly gain admittance from the trembling garrison. His presence restored calm, and an interview with the English ambassador secured the help of the Triple Alliance. Neither Pitt nor Frederick William II desired to 'see the Baltic a Russian lake', and the Danes were forced to quit Sweden and conclude an armistice.

Gustavus, freed for the moment from foreign difficulties, proceeded to destroy the last remnants of political power possessed by the Hats and Caps by another revolution of the constitution in 1789; and, with the entire goodwill of the clergy, burghers, and peasants of the Riksdag, he established what was practically a despotism.

In 1790 he and the Tsarina, moved by mutual dislike of the French revolution and a desire to watch its progress, concluded the Treaty of Verela, and in 1791, true to his Quixotic principles, he offered to lead a crusade to rescue the imprisoned King and Queen. A year after, before this plan had matured, he was assassinated at a masked ball in Stockholm, and the nobles thus gained a final revenge. Sweden now sank into insignificance. Her new King, Gustavus IV, was a child; while his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, who became regent, was of a sluggish and unenterprising disposition and maintained a strict neutrality in European affairs.

In the case of the coercion of Denmark, the Triple Alliance had been used to maintain a balance of power in the north of Europe, but the King of Prussia also hoped to make it the instrument of his own ambitions. Frederick the Great had gained Polish Prussia by a process of fishing in troubled waters, and his nephew intended to follow his example, but his efforts were to show that he was far from being an equally expert angler.

Austria, when the Triple Alliance was formed, was in a state of internal unrest, resulting from the over-hasty reforms of Joseph II. She had also just embarked on a war with Turkey, whose disastrous first campaign was to cost her Emperor his life. Frederick William II, true to the anti-Habsburg policy of his house, prepared to take advantage of the weakness of his rival. He encouraged rebellion both in Hungary and the Netherlands, and in 1790 even went so far as to recognize the independence of the Belgian republic.

In the East, his aims were to complete the acquisitions of Frederick the Great by securing the Polish towns of Danzig and Thorn, which dominated the Vistula ; and to use Turkey as an instrument in controlling Russian and Austrian ambitions.

Prussian alliance with Poland, 1790.

In 1790 Frederick William formed an alliance with Poland. By this, in return for Danzig and Thorn, he promised to make Austria give back a great part of the territory which she had acquired in the Partition Treaty of 1772. This he hoped to do by inducing Joseph to indemnify himself at the expense of Turkey. Such were the terms of an agreement that has been described as a 'monument of perfidy'. Not only did it contravene the original Partition Treaty between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, but it also made a secret alliance that Frederick William II had formed with the Porte an entire mockery. The scheme was chiefly the work of the Prussian minister, Hertzberg, whose idea was to imitate Frederick the Great and make acquisitions without striking a blow for them. His master, on the other hand, was more inclined to the formation of a general European league against Russia and Austria, but neither of the two were destined to achieve their ends.

The death of Joseph II and the accession of his brother Leopold put an entirely different aspect on the state of affairs. The new Emperor was a skilled diplomatist. He recognized at once that the chief source of Prussian confidence was the Triple Alliance, and also that this strength was more apparent than real. England had no desire to help the private aggrandizement of Frederick William or to enter into a European war, and Holland had become merely her political echo. Leopold very cleverly induced his rival to enter into negotiations, and a conference was held at Reichenbach, which was attended, much to the Prussian King's disgust, by envoys from England, Holland, and Poland.

Here the schemes of Hertzberg fell to the ground. Poland refused to consider the cession of Danzig and Thorn, and the other members of the Triple Alliance to countenance Prussian aims. Austria offered indeed to make peace with Turkey and to restore her old constitution to the Netherlands, and with this Frederick William was forced to be content. He had been completely outwitted by his rival, and from this time his importance began to decline. The weakness of Prussia was another proof of the failure of benevolent despotism. Frederick the Great had by his personal exertions established the reputation of his kingdom, but he alone had steered the national bark, while his ministers and generals had been mere instruments of his will. On his death, a new hand came to the tiller, and the whole course of the country's destinies was altered and her position of supremacy lost.

In 1791, the year after the conference at Reichenbach, the Emperor concluded the favourable Peace of Sistova¹ with the Turks; but Russia, though deprived of her ally,

¹ See p. 43.

continued the war until in 1792 she at length came to terms with the Porte at Jassy, by which she secured the important fortress of Oczakoff on the Dniester.

§ 12. Leopold II and Hungary.

Leopold in the meanwhile was occupied in quieting the rebellions aroused by his brother's reforms in Hungary and the Netherlands. To this task he brought a firmness of will and a gift of tact which had previously made him famous when Grand Duke of Tuscany. In Hungary he refused to be intimidated by declarations of the sovereignty of the people, or to be coerced by the Diet. On the other hand, he showed a willingness to allow the continuation of provincial customs and languages, and readily agreed to be crowned at Presburg: a further concession, that future Kings must be thus crowned within six months of their accession, changed national ill-feeling into popular delight.

§ 13. Leopold II and the Belgian Republic.

In the Austrian Netherlands he appeared at first to have a harder task, for the influence of the French revolutionaries there was very strong; but in reality this spread of democratic feeling led to quarrels amongst the founders of the Belgian Republic themselves. The Catholic party, led by Van der Noot, was very conservative in its opinions: it wanted to maintain the old privileges of each province and the supremacy of the Church. Thus it was as much opposed as the Emperor to the disciples of Rousseau and Voltaire, with their talk of 'the sovereign people' and 'the law of reason'.

The rebels, too, were deprived of Prussian help, for at the Congress of Reichenbach it had been decided that the Triple Alliance would act as mediator between the Emperor and the Netherlands. In the autumn of 1790 a congress met at the Hague for this purpose, attended by English, Dutch, Prussian, and Imperial envoys. Leopold offered to restore the constitution of the Belgian

§ 14. The Congress of the Hague, 1790.

Provinces as it had existed in the time of his mother Maria Theresa ; but any concessions further than this he refused to make, in spite of the pressure of the allies, who would have been glad to weaken his authority.

The Emperor had the whip-hand, for he knew that neither England nor Holland would go to war in defence of their demands. He therefore sent troops into the Netherlands, where they were welcomed by both burghers and people, who were heartily weary of disorder. Brussels surrendered without a blow, and Van der Noot and his followers fled. The Belgian Republic had ceased to exist, and Leopold had won another diplomatic triumph, this time at the expense of the Triple Alliance.

The Emperor, having succeeded in putting an end to two revolutions, now found himself confronted by a third of a much more disturbing character on the western border of the Empire. The French revolution could not but profoundly affect the whole of Europe. Foreign affairs had always been the private department of the Crown in France, and when the King had been reduced to a mere figurehead, it became a matter of grave importance whether the Constituent Assembly would continue the policy of the Bourbons or adopt an entirely new programme. In 1790 this question was put to the test § 15. The affair of Nootka Sound, which threatened to bring about a war between England and Spain. In the previous year Charles III of Spain had been succeeded by his weak son, Charles IV, who let himself be entirely ruled by his wife, Queen Marie Louise, and her favourite, Count Godoy. Some of the ministers of the previous reign nevertheless remained in power, and amongst them the capable Florida Blanca, who carefully watched for any opportunity of upholding the dignity of Spain. In 1789 he claimed the island of Vancouver as Spanish

affair of
Nootka
Sound,
1790.

property, and his officers seized an English ship in Nootka Sound, a bay now known as St. George's Sound. Pitt demanded reparation for the insult, and Florida Blanca promptly asked for the French aid promised by the Family Compact of 1761.¹ The opinions of the Constituent Assembly were divided; hatred of England made many members anxious for war, but the treasury was still empty, and the wise advice of Mirabeau in the Diplomatic Council prevailed. France declared her league with Spain to be merely for defensive purposes, and Florida Blanca, deprived of her support, was forced to accede to Pitt's requests.

§ 16. Dis-
putes be-
tween

Leopold II
and the
French
Govern-
ment.

Co-opera-
tion be-
tween the
revolu-
tionaries in
France and
the Nether-
lands.

Hostility
of the
Rhenish

Less easy of settlement were the disputes that arose between the new French Government and the Emperor. Leopold, as the brother of Marie Antoinette, had been watching with anxious eyes the course of the revolution, and the personal affection that urged him to rescue his sister and brother-in-law was intensified by political considerations. Ever since 1756 the Bourbons had maintained a Franco-Austrian alliance. It now became evident that the fall of the monarchy or its complete dependence on the people would endanger this connexion, for the national dislike of the Austrians was very strong. Previous to the meeting of the States-General this had only shown itself in the unpopularity of the Queen, but afterwards it had taken a practical form. There had been distinct signs of active co-operation between the revolutionary democrats of France and the Netherlands, and a French lawyer, Camille Desmoulins, had even edited a paper bearing the title *Les Révolutions de France et de Brabant*.

This hostility had affected Leopold as Archduke of Austria, but he had also met with opposition in his

¹ See p. 5.

capacity as Emperor. There was great indignation amongst the landowners of the Upper Rhine districts, who found the spread of revolutionary doctrines undermine their authority. Some of the German princes also, who owned property in the French Province of Alsace, resented the abolition of feudal rights and refused the compensation offered to them by the Government. Instead, they appealed to Leopold as their overlord to uphold the privileges of imperial subjects, and a lengthy correspondence arose between the Constituent Assembly and the Imperial Diet.

The Emperor was reluctant to embark in war until he had gained the co-operation of the rest of Europe. Perhaps he realized that any hasty action on his part would imperil the lives of his relations, and he must have been disgusted at the cowardice of the *émigrés*, who persistently demanded his aid for a cause which they had lacked the courage to stay and defend themselves. On the other hand, he knew that to make war on France as the Holy Roman Emperor at the head of all the German princes, would be to restore Austria to the position of supremacy in Central Europe usurped by Prussia in the time of Frederick the Great.

In 1791 Leopold therefore issued the Manifesto of Padua, calling on the sovereigns of Europe to support him against the enemies of the French crown. The Kings of Prussia and Spain, Gustavus III of Sweden, and Catherine of Russia responded with lavish promises; and in the following year Frederick William and the Emperor met in a conference at Pilnitz, the results of which have been mentioned elsewhere.¹ It was unfortunate for the imperial cause that Leopold died in 1792 before the outbreak of the war. He had shown

Princes and
the French
Govern-
ment.

§ 17. The
Manifesto
of Padua,
1791.

Death of
Leopold II,

¹ See p. 87.

himself a gifted diplomatist, and the ascendancy which he had gained over the weak King of Prussia would have put him at the head of two large armies, with which, had he displayed corresponding good generalship, he might have altered the whole course of French history. His son and successor, Francis II, was a mere boy, and fell under the influence of Frederick William, and thus Prussia, not Austria, was destined to take the lead in the opening of the great European struggle.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGN OF TERROR

§ 1. The National Convention. § 2. Danton. § 3. Execution of Louis XVI. § 4. French victories against the allies. § 5. The Crusade of Liberty. § 6. France declares war on England, Holland, and Spain. § 7. Switzerland in the eighteenth century. § 8. Dumouriez invades Holland. § 9. The First Committee of Public Safety. § 10. The Revolutionary Tribunal. § 11. The Deputies on Mission. § 12. The fall of the Girondins. § 13. The Rebellion of La Vendée. § 14. The murder of Marat. § 15. Danton reforms the army. § 16. The Great Committee of Public Safety. § 17. Maximilien Robespierre. § 18. The Hébertists. § 19. Execution of Marie Antoinette. § 20. The Laws of Maximum and of Suspects. § 21. The Work of the Great Committee of Public Safety. § 22. Lyons and Toulon captured by the Republicans. § 23. Rebellion in La Vendée. § 24. Fall of the Hébertists. § 25. Fall of the Dantonists. § 26. Robespierre and the worship of the Supreme Being. § 27. Fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor. § 28. The Maritime War. § 29. French successes in the Netherlands. § 30. The Batavian Republic formed. § 31. French successes on the Rhine.

THE elections for the National Convention had been held in the gloomy days preceding the victory at Valmy, and the general anger and excitement were plainly shown in the choice of members. The Girondins were still in the majority, but they appeared chiefly as deputies of the provinces and represented the more moderate spirit of the assembly. On the opposition benches sat the Jacobins, who from their high seats became known as the party of the Mountain. Their leaders were the deputies of the capital and had behind them the mob, which thronged the galleries of the

§ 1. The National Convention.
The Girondins.
The Party of the Mountain.

Tuileries, where the Convention met, and intimidated the speakers. Even more important than their influence over the mob was the fact that the Jacobins had secured the chief city offices, and thus could use the municipality, or 'Commune' of Paris as it became known, as their *The Plain.* tool. This advantage was to more than counterbalance their numerical inferiority. Between the benches of the Girondins and those of the Mountain sat the Plain ; members of no particular party, who gave their votes chiefly under the direction of Barère, a man who had already established a reputation for trimming his politics to suit the winning side.

§ 2.
Danton. Of a far different stamp was Danton, the hero of Paris at the time when the Prussians had seemed likely to advance upon her very walls. He alone with tireless energy had encouraged the formation of camps and the enlistment of soldiers. Though no lover of cruelty for its own sake, the September massacres had yet formed a part of his programme for keeping alive the popular excitement, which he hoped to employ as patriotic enthusiasm on the field of battle. His object was to secure a strong Government at all costs, and the inability to obtain this from amongst the Girondins drove him finally into the ranks of their rivals.

With the abolition of the monarchy and the formation of a republic, the Convention swept away all titles, and the reign of Fraternity and Equality was inaugurated. The wretched Duke of Orleans, having humbly craved leave to take the name of Philip Égalité, appeared as a Jacobin deputy, but he was no longer a leader as in the days when he kept open house in the Palais-Royal ; now he was a mere tool of the faction to which he belonged, soon to be sacrificed to the Terror which he had helped to establish.

The chief subject of dispute at the opening of the § 3. Exe-
Convention was the fate of the King. Once he was ^{execution of} _{Louis XVI,} deposed, the Girondins would gladly have saved him, ^{Jan. 21,} _{1793.} but the more democratic party demanded his death. 'Let us throw them in defiance the head of a King', exclaimed Danton on hearing of the victories of the enemies of the republic, and the Jacobins loudly taunted their rivals with being secret royalists. This was a deadly accusation to be levelled in the presence of an angry mob, and the Girondins hastened to clear themselves of suspicion. After the mockery of a trial, Louis was condemned to death as a traitor to France. 'I looked for judges', said the brave young lawyer De Sèze, who defended him, 'and I find none but accusers.' On January 21, 1793, the King was guillotined, and met his fate with the same courage with which he had faced the mob at the invasion of the Tuileries.

Meanwhile the Convention had been earning glory § 4. French ^{victories} _{against the allies.} abroad, for the check given to the Prussians at Valmy had been the first of a series of victories. The Duke of Brunswick, finding his army suffering from disease and want of food, had persuaded his master that he was but feebly supported by the Austrians, and Frederick William instantly recalled his troops. This left a road open into Germany, where the Rhenish Provinces were entirely unprepared for an attack. Custine, a French general, seized the important towns of Spires and Worms, while Mainz, the key to the frontier, sur- rendered without firing a shot. ^{Custine seizes Spires and Worms, Oct., 1792.}

Dumouriez, on his part, had entered the Austrian ^{Battle of} Netherlands, whose barrier fortresses Joseph II had ^{Jemappes, Nov., 1792.} levelled with the ground. In November, 1792, he engaged in a battle with the imperial troops at Jemappes, and on their defeat they promptly retreated

Nice and Savoy seized by the French. and the French entered Brussels without opposition. About the same time came the news that Nice and Savoy, possessions of the King of Sardinia, had been with equal swiftness annexed to the Republic.

§ 5. The Crusade of Liberty. France was in a delirium of joy, for she believed that her arms were invincible, and that it was her mission to carry a revolutionary crusade against Europe. Her orators argued that districts conquered by the sons of liberty could not be allowed to fall again under the rule of tyrants. Instead, they provided them with Jacobin clubs and a replica of French institutions.

Not content with this, the Republic, in December of the same year, published a decree, promising to aid all nations to rebel against their rulers and establish the reign of 'the sovereign people'. In the insolence of her new-born glory, she even refused to consider the wishes of the nations themselves. The country that would not overthrow its King was henceforth the enemy of France.

Changed character of the war.

Burke and the *Reflections on the French Revolution*. This militant attitude entirely changed the character of the war. The campaign of 1792 had been an offensive movement on the part of Austria and Prussia to rescue Louis XVI, while the struggle now opening was caused by the challenge that France had flung to Europe. This called new enemies into the field, and one in particular that was to maintain the struggle with tireless energy for twenty-two years. England had at first watched the course of the revolution with sympathy, but the excesses of the movement had changed that feeling into horror and distrust. Burke, a great British author and politician, had in 1790 published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which he had warned his countrymen of the coming anarchy, and his book had made a profound impression. This was intensified by the

knowledge that French agents were encouraging the formation of revolutionary clubs in London and other large towns, besides increasing whatever disaffection they could find amongst the lower classes. Thus the two nations had been for many years on the verge of war.

The immediate cause of hostilities was the news of the fate of Louis XVI, and a declaration by the Republic that the mouth of the Scheldt should be henceforth open to commerce, since the river had its source in a free country. This direct attack on the commercial position of the Dutch could hardly be condoned by their ally, and Pitt remonstrated with the Convention, with the result that, in February, 1793, France declared war on both England and Holland, and a month later on Spain, now the chief stronghold of the Bourbons.

§ 6. France declares war on England, Holland, and Spain,

1793.

Since Prussia and Austria were still under arms, the Republic was face to face with a very formidable coalition. But for the neutrality of Switzerland, her land blockade would have been complete; while the addition of Portugal and Naples to the number of her enemies, and the superiority of the British fleet, menaced her coast line in the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and the Mediterranean.

Switzerland at the close of the eighteenth century § 7. Switzerland in the eighteenth century.

consisted of a federation of cantons very variously ruled, the government of some being extremely democratic, while in others it lay in the hands of a few nobles. Geneva, the home of Rousseau, was an independent republic torn by the continual dissensions of internal factions, but many of the more violent citizens had been expelled a few years before and had gone to assist the spread of anarchy in Paris.

The neutrality of the cantons was of the greatest

assistance to the French Republic, for it enabled her to obtain a constant supply of arms and provisions through her friends and sympathizers there. Nevertheless, it was soon proved that patriotic fervour could not entirely atone for lack of discipline and training.

§ 8. Dumouriez invades Holland.

Battle of Neerwinden, March, 1793.

Desertion of Dumouriez.

§ 9. The first Committee of Public Safety.

§ 10. The Revolutionary Tribunal.

§ 11. The Deputies on Mission.

Dumouriez had advanced boldly into Holland, but he did not meet the welcome there he had been accorded by the Belgians. Part of his army was defeated at Maestricht, and on his retreat he was pursued by the Austrians, assisted by an English force under the Duke of York. The French were utterly routed at Neerwinden and forced to evacuate, not only the Northern, but the Southern Provinces. The much-booited crusade seemed likely to become a complete fiasco, for Spanish forces had crossed the Pyrenees and were calmly laying waste the frontier districts. Another blow for the republic was the desertion of her ablest general. Dumouriez had watched with alarm the quarrels of the legislature, where the ruin of the Girondins would imply his own. After his defeat at Neerwinden he tried to induce his army to follow him against the Convention, and, failing in this, he passed over one night to the allies with a large body of men.

It became evident that a strong Government, with absolute power to execute its orders, could alone save France. In March a Committee of Public Safety was formed, consisting of only nine members, and it was significant of the trend of popular feeling that these were Jacobins.

The judicial arm of the committee was the Revolutionary Tribunal, before whose bar were sent the enemies of the Republic, and whose sentence in nearly every case was death. The agents of the committee in the provinces were the 'Deputies on Mission'; their chief

task was to raise troops by conscription, since volunteers were not sufficient, but their authority was supreme in other matters. They could examine the behaviour of local officials and suspend them at their will, and they could fill the prisons and empty them by means of the guillotine. Thus the Reign of Terror was established not only in Paris but throughout France. Public Safety sat enthroned like a heathen deity that must be satisfied with human victims.

The first to fall were the Girondins, but they deserved less pity than many of their fellow-sufferers, for their ruin was the result of their own vacillating conduct. They had claimed to be moderate in their opinions ; but, in spite of a majority in the legislature, they had allowed the horrors of the September massacres and the execution of the King. The truth was, that they were without leaders and without a definite policy. Their support lay in the middle classes, but these were intimidated in the capital by the mob ; and Paris, as ever in French history, dictated the fate of France.

The blow was dealt, not by the Jacobins in the Convention, but by their followers in the Commune. These sent contingents of the National Guard, who surrounded the Tuilleries and arrested the leaders of the Girondins. Those who protested against this arbitrary act were put in prison, and a once powerful political party ceased to exist.

In the meantime civil war had been added to the disasters which the Government was forced to meet. The Province of La Vendée, to the south of the river Loire, had been one of the parts of France least oppressed under the *ancien régime*. It had therefore watched the attack on the privileged classes without enthusiasm, and the treatment of the Church with indignation. Slumber-

§ 12. The
Fall of the
Girondins.

§ 13. The
Rebellion
of La
Vendée,
1793.

ing discontent was stirred to white heat by the demand for conscription, and the south-west of France was soon in a blaze of rebellion. The movement was started by desultory bands of peasants, but these found leaders in the proscribed nobles and priests, and the young Dauphin, then imprisoned in the Temple, was proclaimed King as Louis XVII.

Girondist risings.

Revolt was not confined to La Vendée, but the causes elsewhere were different. Many of the imprisoned deputies of the Gironde had escaped from Paris and stirred up counter-revolutions against their victorious rivals in Normandy and some of the principal southern towns. In Lyons the leaders of the extreme democrats were executed, while Toulon surrendered to an English fleet under the command of Admiral Hood. On land the allies were making progress, but mutual jealousy prevented a combined march on Paris, which might have entirely overthrown the Republic. Instead, each army advanced slowly, capturing the French strongholds on their line of march. Their successes discredited the Girondists, by making their resistance to the Government in the face of invasion seem treachery to France.

§ 14. The murder of Marat, July, 1793.

This feeling was intensified by the murder of Marat, one of the leaders of the Mountain, in July, 1793. He was stabbed by a girl, Charlotte Corday, from Caen, who had been inspired by the idea that she was an instrument of divine vengeance. Marat had been one of the most violent of the revolutionaries, and his love of bloodshed had been found inconvenient even by his own party. 'A multitude of priests and nobles', he declared, 'have ruined France; the head of every one of that multitude must fall'; and every day from his seat in the legislature he demanded fresh victims for the guillotine.

Toulon surrenders to the English.

More useful to his friends in his death than in his life, he was now hailed by them as a martyr, and the fanaticism of Charlotte Corday was treated as an instance of a supposed Girondin conspiracy of wide extent. The Government acted with promptitude, and its forces soon suppressed the risings in Normandy. Steps were also taken to draw up a new constitution for the Republic and to regulate the army. The latter was chiefly § 15. *Danton reforms the army.* the work of Danton, the leading member of the First Committee of Public Safety, and the improvement of the republican forces was marked. The qualifications of a general were now decided by his military capacity alone; promotion was very rapid, and the knowledge that it was possible for any private to rise to the rank of a commander-in-chief gave great stimulus to the energy and bravery of the troops.

In July the original committee was dissolved, to be § 16. *The Great Committee of Public Safety.* replaced by the Great Committee of Public Safety, so known from its long tenure of office and unlimited authority. Danton was not a member, and his influence from this time began to decline. His place as hero of the mob was taken by one at first sight little suited for the position. Maximilien Robespierre was small and § 17. *Maximilien Robespierre.* insignificant in his person, his eyes were weak, his face was pitted with small-pox, and his voice was shrill and unpleasant. In marked contrast to Marat and other extreme spirits of the Revolution, he displayed sobriety in his private life and neatness in his dress.

In the days before the Revolution began he had been His appointed judge in a court at Arras, but had resigned character. his post rather than sentence anyone to death, a reminiscence that appears almost incompatible with his after-life. The explanation may be found in the influence which Rousseau's writings had obtained over his mind.

Robespierre was steeped in theories of 'the sovereignty of the people' and 'the equality of mankind', and the practical difficulties of their realization presented no obstacle to him. He alone of the revolutionary leaders was prepared to carry the doctrines of the Genevan philosopher into the national life of France, and to condemn to the guillotine all who opposed his views. To this task he brought a zeal and fanaticism that could only be compared with that of a mediaeval inquisitor.

His political career.

Policy of Robespierre.

By 1793 he was a well-known figure in politics. He had sat in the Constituent Assembly, and, on its dissolution, had held the Jacobin Club spellbound with his oratory. He had been one of those to demand from the very first the death of Louis, on the grounds that France required it. His consistent attitude, and the reputation which he had established for honesty, gained him the title of 'the incorruptible', and though his frigid nature could hardly win him affection, he inspired both admiration and fear. His qualities as a statesman were much overrated; for, as Danton realized, the high-sounding theories of Rousseau were quite impossible in practice, and the effort to establish them could only insure prolonged anarchy. Thus Robespierre was merely destructive; and, when he had overthrown his rivals, he had nothing to offer France which could quell disorder and bring her prosperity. Soon after the meeting of the Great Committee of Public Safety he became one of its members, together with his chief follower, St. Just, a young man of twenty-five, with an iron will that supplied the chief failing of his leader, who, though not personally a coward, was apt to find his nerves play him false in a crisis.

§ 18. The Hébertists. The most extreme section of the committee was the faction of the Hébertists, whose only principle was self-

ambition; and who, having founded their power on a system of terrorism, were resolved to prolong it at any cost. They had behind them the Commune of Paris, and were at first extremely strong. By means of the Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety, which acted as a police-magistracy, they were able to strike at all who opposed them.

Marie Antoinette, who had remained imprisoned in the Temple since the King's death, fell amongst the first of their victims. Her unfortunate son, the little Louis XVII, who was only eight years old, was handed over to the mercy of a brutal cobbler, Simon, and his health and spirit were soon broken by the cruel treatment he received. The revolution has no darker stain upon its memory than the slow but deliberate murder of this child.

The Girondins were the next to be condemned, and Madame Roland passed to the scaffold but a few weeks later than the Queen whom she had helped to ruin. Philip Egalité, too, was not spared for all his republican sentiments, and, though he had posed as the most rabid of Jacobins, he perished on the score that the Girondins had wished to make him King.

The Great Committee of Public Safety realized that if it was to confine itself to proscribing aristocrats and political opponents, the Reign of Terror must of necessity be limited, and it therefore devised means of intimidating the *bourgeoisie* of France, whom it knew to be secretly hostile.

In 1793 the 'Law of the Maximum' was passed, which fixed the highest price at which any necessary article, such as corn or bread, could be sold. This pleased the lower classes, and, since it was constantly evaded, put the majority of tradesmen at the mercy of

§ 19. Execution of Marie Antoinette.

The fate of the Dauphin.

Execution of the Girondins.

§ 20. The Laws of Maximum and of Suspects, 1793.

the Government. Even more arbitrary was the 'Law of Suspects', by which any man or woman in France could be sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the grounds that there was reason to suspect that the accused did not approve of the present state of affairs. The number of victims of this system of tyranny is almost beyond belief. In Paris the average increased monthly, as the authors of these crimes feared for their own safety, and tried to secure it by inspiring more terror. Priests, nuns, the relations of *émigrés*, generals who had failed in their duty, shopkeepers suspected of evading the maximum, and actual criminals, suffered alike the verdict of death from the remorseless tribunal. In the provinces the Terror varied according to the character of the 'Deputies on Mission'. Carrier at Nantes earned a horrible reputation for drowning his prisoners in batches because, he declared, they were too many to guillotine; but some of the commissioners merely arrested suspects and did not actually send them to execution.

The
drownings
of Nantes.

§ 21. The
work of
the Great
Committee
of Public
Safety.

The memory of this frightful reign of cruelty is for ever associated with the name of the Great Committee of Public Safety, and has counteracted the praise that body deserves for the solid and useful work it did in other directions. It is true the constitution of 1793, though framed, never came into force, for the authors of the Terror dared not risk the elections; but the famous laws eventually published under the name of the 'Code Napoléon' owe their origin to the toil of members of the committee such as Carnot and Prieur.

The
foreign
war.

In foreign affairs the Government, too, displayed great energy, and restored the fortunes of France. The improvement of the army has already been noted, and its success under the organization of Carnot was con-

tinuous. The numbers also increased, for service at the front established a title for patriotism at which even the long arm of the Terror could not strike.

In the autumn of 1793 the Duke of York was compelled to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and a combined force of English and imperialists were defeated by General Jourdan at Wattignies, Farther south, the Prussians were forced to evacuate Alsace, and even driven beyond the Rhine; while on the Pyrenees the tables were completely turned on the Spaniards, who were compelled to change their invasion into a defence of their frontiers.

In the case of internal revolt, the determined attitude of the authorities met with a like success. Lyons, which had originally rebelled in the Girondin interest, had lately declared itself for the Bourbons, but in 1793 it was captured by the republicans, and a horrible reign of terror established under Collot d'Herbois, one of the most bloodthirsty of the Great Committee. Those condemned to death were found too numerous for the guillotine, and were shot down in a series of *mitrail-lardes*.

Toulon, which surrendered two months later, suffered the same fate. Its fall is now chiefly famous for the presence of Napoleon Bonaparte amongst the besiegers. He had just been given command of a battery of artillery, and distinguished himself by planting his guns on a promontory overlooking the bay. Their fire compelled the English fleet to depart, and the French took possession of the town.

More serious was the rebellion in La Vendée, where the rebels appeared likely to raise Normandy and Maine in their favour, but their progress was hindered by the steady resistance of the seaport of Nantes to their

Battle of Wattignies, 1793.

Lyons and Toulon by the Republicans, 1793.

§ 23. Rebellion in La Vendée.

attack. They were at length defeated in a series of battles by General Kleber at the head of some regulars, and though the rebellion smouldered on, it ceased to be an anxiety. The same cruelty was displayed in punishing the insurgents as in the case of Lyons and Toulon: the country round the Loire was laid waste, and hundreds of victims perished in the drownings at Nantes which have been mentioned above.

§ 24. Fall
of the
Hébertists.

Attention must now be turned to the dissensions of the Great Committee of Public Safety itself, where the excesses of the Hébertists had aroused the disgust of the followers of Danton and the distrust of Robespierre himself. Ever since the downfall of the monarchy, the Church and Christianity had been the objects of bitter attack by the revolutionaries, who decreed that there should be a new calendar, dating not from the birth of Christ, but from the foundation of the Republic in September, 1792. Even the names of the months were changed into fantastic titles, denoting the seasons of the year. Not content with this, the Hébertists had established the worship of the Goddess of Reason, with many rites both childish and profane. The Cathedral of Notre-Dame and other churches of the capital were turned into temples of the new religion, and Gobel, the Archbishop of Paris according to the constitution of 1791, was even induced to abjure Christianity and resign his see.

Taking advantage of these excesses, the followers of Danton joined with Robespierre to condemn the extreme faction, for the one desired an end of the Terror, and the other to rid himself of enemies hostile to his theories. In the Convention and the Committee the Hébertists were denounced as atheists, and in March, 1794, their leaders were suddenly arrested and sent

before the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their sentence was a foregone conclusion, and they were hurried to the scaffold to which they had themselves condemned so many innocent men. The Reign of Terror did not, however, cease. Danton still stood in the way of § 25. Fall of the Robespierres, and but a month later he and his friends Dantonists followed the Hébertists to the guillotine.

Robespierre now remained triumphant, but he did § 26. Robespierre and the worship of the Supreme Being. not know how to make use of his opportunities, for he had no constructive policy. With great pomp and solemnity he announced a reign of Virtue, in which the worship of the Supreme Being should take the place of the previous atheism. At the Grand Fête of its inaugural rites in June, 1794, he officiated as a kind of high priest, clad in a coat of violet silk. This display awoke the derision of his colleagues, and aroused no enthusiasm amongst the people, for it seemed folly to talk of a reign of Virtue when the Terror continued unabated.

Indignant at the lack of popular sympathy, Robespierre ceased for a time to attend the Great Committee regularly, but it is impossible to acquit him of complicity in the increased death-rolls. Indeed, it was he who introduced a law for facilitating the execution of those convicted by the Tribunal, and another by which he hoped to put the Convention at his mercy, since he knew it to be secretly hostile.

He had, however, gone too far in this, for even the § 27. Fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor, which was the equivalent of our month of July, the Convention ordered the arrest of Robespierre, but he was rescued by his partisans in the Commune

Robespierre takes refuge in the Hôtel de Ville.

and took refuge in the Hôtel de Ville. Had he taken prompt steps he might yet have saved himself, but he remained there undecided as to what to do.

The Convention, on the other hand, realized that it must either strike or fall a victim to its opponents. It therefore declared Robespierre and his friends outlaws, and called the regular troops to its assistance, who stormed the Hôtel de Ville and captured those within. In the struggle Robespierre himself was wounded in the mouth, but he lived to fall on the scaffold on the following day.

At the news of his death a wave of relief passed over France. It was the popular idea that the Terror had died with Robespierre, and men once more dared to express their opinions openly. In vain the remaining members of the Great Committee tried to continue their domination, the strength of the moderate party increased, and so forcibly did the nation condemn the previous atrocities that Carrier the Butcher of Nantes was sentenced to death, and Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, two of the most brutal revolutionaries, were transported.

One of the chief causes of the reaction against the Terror had been the successes gained by French arms in the war. These might have made the Government popular had they not shown that its cruelty was unnecessary. Only on the sea did the Republic prove unfortunate, for Great Britain captured most of her West Indian islands and occupied Corsica at the instigation of one of its patriots, Paoli. Admiral Howe also destroyed a fleet sent to convoy corn from America to France on June 1, 1794, but the Convention claimed this as a victory, since the grain itself arrived safely.

On her northern and eastern frontiers the armics

of France were universally successful. The generals ^{§ 29.} Pichegru and Jourdan entered the Netherlands from different points, and the latter won a decisive victory over a combined English and Austrian force at Fleurus. Belgium was once more occupied, and Pichegru advanced into the Northern Provinces, where his progress was assisted by the weather, for his troops were able to cross the frozen rivers and captured the Dutch fleet icebound in the Texel. The English and Austrians were forced to retreat, and the Stadholder hastily escaped across the Channel.

Holland was now declared the Batavian Republic and ^{§ 30.} The her Government established on the Parisian model. The ^{Batavian Republic formed.} moderation of the Convention in not annexing this fresh conquest to France won the friendship of the Dutch burghers, who were not sorry to see the overthrow of the House of Orange. Meanwhile success had been as marked elsewhere. The English had scarcely landed a contingent of *émigrés* at Quiberon Bay before French troops under General Hoche fell upon them and cut them to pieces. On the eastern frontier one army ^{Battle of Quiberon Bay, July, 1794.} repulsed the Austrians and seized Cologne and some other towns on the Rhine, while another drove the Prussians out of the Palatinate. On the Pyrenees and the Alps the Republic was equally victorious, and in the winter of 1794-5 negotiations were begun between the combatants.

The most important outcome of these negotiations ^{The Treaty of Basle, 1795.} was the Treaty of Basle, drawn up in April, 1795, between France and Prussia. The latter had for some time taken little part in the campaign, chiefly because Frederick William desired to have his hands free to reap what advantages he could from disturbances in Poland.¹

¹ See p. 126.

The English Ambassador at Berlin, who had endeavoured to press on the war, indignantly described the Prussian councils as ruled by 'ill-will, jealousy, and every sort of dirty passion'.

Attitude of
Frederick
William II
towards
France. In the Treaty of Basle Frederick William posed as the defender of North Germany, for States above a certain line were guaranteed with Prussia as neutral territory. The retention by France of all Germany west of the Rhine was tacitly acknowledged by the Prussian King as far as he was concerned.

This important peace was followed by treaties with Spain, Sweden, and some of the smaller German provinces; and thus by the summer of 1795 the French Republic had forced the recognition of her political existence upon the greater part of Europe.

CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF BONAPARTE

§ 1. The reaction after the Reign of Terror. § 2. The Constitution of the Year III. § 3. The insurrection of the 15th Vendémiaire. § 4. Policy of Catherine II. § 5. Revolution of the Polish Constitution. § 6. The Second Partition of Poland. § 7. Renewed revolt in Poland. § 8. Third Partition Treaty. § 9. Catherine II and the French Revolution. § 10. Campaign between France and Austria in Italy. § 11. State of Italy. § 12. Napoleon Bonaparte takes command of the French army in Italy. § 13. First stage in the campaign. § 14. Second stage in the campaign. § 15. Third stage in the campaign. § 16. Fourth stage in the campaign. § 17. The German campaign. § 18. Napoleon advances into Austria. § 19. Napoleon at Venice. § 20. Genoa becomes the Ligurian Republic.

THE *coup d'état* of the month Thermidor, by which Robespierre was overthrown, introduced a reaction that did not confine itself merely to the punishment of the most violent agents of the Terror. Not only the Committee of Public Safety, but the Convention itself was associated in men's minds with past atrocities, and it became evident that a new form of Government must be introduced. In the autumn of 1795 the Constitution of the Year III of the Republic was evolved. More humble than the members of the Constituent Assembly, its framers determined that the legislature should henceforth consist of two chambers. These might be roughly compared with our English Houses of Parliament. The larger was called the Council of Five Hundred, and its special function was the control of taxation. The smaller

§ 1. The reaction after the Reign of Terror.
§ 2. The Constitution of the Year III, Nov., 1795.

was the Council of Ancients, of which the members must be forty-five years old or upwards. Both chambers were elective, and it was hoped that the deliberations of two bodies instead of one would prevent the hasty legislation that had caused the excesses of the revolution.

The Directors.

The executive was to be in the hands of five Directors, elected by the Council of Ancients out of a list of names presented to them by the Five Hundred. These Directors were to live in the Palace of the Luxembourg, and to occupy themselves with the foreign policy of France and her internal administration. One was to retire each year, and another to be chosen to fill his place.

Unpopularity of the Thermidorians.

It only remained to put the new Constitution into execution, but this the Thermidorians, as the authors of Robespierre's fall are known, hesitated to do. Even the repeal of the hated Law of the Maximum, and the return to the legislature of those imprisoned for supporting the Girondins, had not been sufficient to dispel the unpopularity of the Convention. It still contained some who had been agents of the Terror, and many passive accomplices. These feared that a general election would mean their own proscription, and they therefore saddled the new constitution with the clause that two-thirds of the Council of Ancients and of the Five Hundred must be chosen from the present legislative assembly.

The Thermidorians defend the Tuilleries.

Loud was the indignation of their enemies, of whom some were royalists secretly hoping to restore the Bourbons; and the Convention realized that it would not be able to secure this all-important point without a struggle. It therefore appointed Barras, who had led the attack against Robespierre in the Hôtel de Ville, to undertake its defence, and he, remembering an ardent young Jacobin who had displayed some genius in the siege of Toulon, called Napoleon Bonaparte to his assistance.

At the beginning of October it was noised abroad § 3. The Insurrection of the the Convention was sitting. Bonaparte promptly fortified 15th Vendémiaire, Oct. 5. the Palace, and placed guns commanding the principal streets which led to it. On the fifth of the month the assailants of the Thermidorians, who numbered many contingents of the National Guard, advanced in columns to storm the building. They were met by a heavy artillery fire that threw them into confusion. The affair became a massacre, for, protected by their walls, the Convention and its defenders were untouched, while the streets were heaped with the bodies of their opponents.

The victory was complete, for Paris was reduced to quiescence, and the provinces had no desire to assist in another revolution. Thus when the Constitution of the Year III came into force in November, 1795, two-thirds of its legislators were elected from the ranks of the Thermidorians; and all five Directors were men who had voted for the death of Louis XVI, and might therefore be expected to be good republicans. Two of the most prominent were Barras, now rewarded for having twice saved the Convention, and Carnot, the military organizer of the Great Committee of Public Safety.

The establishment of the new Government came as a great shock to many of the powers of Europe. England in particular had been deluded by the *émigrés* into the belief that the reaction would restore the monarchy. Her only hope now was that the existence of the Directory would be a short one. Both she and Austria refused to consider any terms by which the Rhine should remain the French boundary, and as this was the basis of every republican demand, the continuation of war was made inevitable.

Prussia.

Prussia, on the other hand, had by the Treaty of Basle retired from the conflict, and Catherine II taunted Frederick William with the loss of his honour. In language more forcible than polite she described him as 'une méchante bête, et un grand cochon'; epithets evidently not suggested by unselfish pity for the deserted Bourbons. It is true that on the news of the execution of Louis XVI the Tsarina retired to bed and appeared afterwards in mourning, while St. Petersburg became a refuge for the *émigrés*; but the Emperor Leopold's appeal from Padua for help to rescue his brother-in-law had won from her nothing more substantial than promises.

§ 4.
Policy of
Catherine
II.

Catherine was playing her own game in the east of Europe, and had no desire to interfere in French politics. Conversely, it was her dearest wish that Austria and Prussia should become entangled in them, and leave her unmolested. 'I cudgel my brains to urge the Courts of Vienna and Berlin to busy themselves with the affairs of France', she said; 'I wish these two Courts to be fully occupied, so that they may not disturb me.'

The subject which the Tsarina found of such absorbing interest in the east, was the thorny question of the fate of Poland. Ever since the Partition Treaty of 1772, that unhappy land, robbed of a third of its territory and intimidated by the presence of Cossacks, had been practically a Russian dependency. In 1791, however, the Diet of Warsaw had taken advantage of the Russo-Turkish War, and the consequent withdrawal of troops, to revolutionize its constitution. The crown was declared hereditary and the *Liberum Veto* abolished. Stanislaus Poniatowski, throwing aside for once his fear of the powerful Empress, had appeared as a patriot, and sworn to uphold the new régime. For a time it seemed as if the *coup d'état* would meet with success. Austria

§ 5. Revo-
lution of
the Polish
Constitu-
tion, 1791.

Abolition
of the
Elective
Monarchy
and the
*Liberum
Veto*.

and the Triple Alliance were apparently friendly, and it was not till Catherine II had come to terms with the Porte at Jassy that danger appeared upon the horizon.

The publication of the new constitution was, of course, an act of direct defiance towards Russia, who had sworn to uphold the old, and the Tsarina prepared to mete out punishment. Asked, at that moment, to assist the Emperor against France, she replied, 'it was her duty to put down Jacobins in Poland,' oblivious of the fact that the aims of French revolutionaries and Polish patriots were diametrically opposed.

As in the case of the first partition, she found tools to her hand in Poland itself. Some malcontent nobles formed a league at Targowitz in 1792, and declared the new constitution a despotism. Catherine generously sent The Russian troops in response to their demands for help, League of Targowitz, while Stanislaus Poniatowski appealed to Prussia to 1792. support the patriots. Frederick William, ever on the The watch for personal aggrandizement, was quite ready to patriots interfere, but considered he would gain more as a spoiler appeal to Prussia for help. than a saviour, and the Empress was unwillingly forced to accept him as an ally. The Poles, deprived of any external aid, were powerless before two such foes. Kosciusko, their brave leader, was defeated and forced to fly from the country, while Stanislaus and the Diet were compelled to restore the old constitution.

The fate of Poland was now sealed, and in 1793 a second partition¹ was arranged between Russia and § 6. The Prussia. The Tsarina, as usual, obtained the largest Second strip of territory; but Frederick William received the Partition of Poland, covetous Danzig and Thorn, with some other districts. ^{1793.} The centre of the country remained nominally independent, but it was in reality at the mercy of Russia.

¹ See Map No. 1.

§ 7. Renewed revolt in Poland.

In 1794 the Poles made a last wild effort for freedom. Kosciusko had returned from exile to lead the movement. The patriots rose and expelled the garrisons of Cossacks, and Igelström, the Russian general, was forced to evacuate Warsaw. Catherine now determined on nothing less than the destruction of Poland as a nation, but she realized she could not attain her object without bribing her neighbours.

Prussia and Austria were far more interested in the eastern problem than in their war with France, and the partition of 1793, in which the Emperor had not been included, had aroused his deep disgust. Thus the slackness and mutual recriminations of the allies had largely contributed to the republican victories noted in a previous chapter.

§ 8. Third Partition Treaty, 1795.

In 1795 a final Treaty of Partition¹ was arranged between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Russian troops, under the great General Suvoroff, had entered Poland in the previous year, and by their superior numbers and discipline had overwhelmed the raw levies of the patriots. Kosciusko himself was wounded and taken prisoner.

By the close of 1795 Poland, as a kingdom, had ceased to exist, and one of the great crimes of history was accomplished. Stanislaus was compelled to abdicate, and his capital became Prussian. Cracow, the second largest town, and the rest of Galicia fell to Austria ; but the Tsarina obtained the lion's share.

§ 9. Catherine II and the French Revolution. Death of Catherine II and accession of Paul I.

Catherine was now prepared to consider the progress of the French Revolution, and she declared her intention of sending Suvoroff with a large army against the republican forces on the Rhine. Her death in 1796 prevented any proof of the sincerity of this decision, and

¹ See Map No. 1.

her son, who succeeded her as Paul I, refused to adopt a warlike policy, and recalled some vessels that had been sent to assist the English fleet.

Thus Russia stood aloof for many years from the great events which were shaking Western Europe to its foundations. On the mainland the contest between France and Austria had entered on a new phase. Hitherto the main theatre of war had been the basin of the Upper Rhine, and the chief sufferers unfortunate petty princes of the Empire, whose lands were ravaged by the combatants. Francis II was, of course, injured by the almost continuous defeat of his armies; but he suffered rather as Emperor than as Archduke of Austria. It was now determined to strike at him through Austria's most vulnerable point, the Duchy of Milan in north Italy, where, previous to the creation of the Directory, military operations had been slow.

Carnot, therefore, constructed a scheme by which three armies were to march on Vienna: two, by way of Germany, under Jourdan and Moreau, were to finally converge on the Danube, while the third and most important was to enter Italy and, if possible, force its way upwards through the passes of the Tyrol into the heart of Austria itself.

The Italian peninsula was peculiarly suited to be a battle-ground for foreign nations. From a geographical point of view, once the Alps were passed, the fertile plains of Lombardy presented few obstacles to military manœuvres, while the possession of the neck—or the district on a line between Genoa and Venice—gave the key to the whole occupation. Politically, Italy was not a nation, and could therefore offer no united front to an invader. Venice, Genoa, and Lucca were independent republics, of which the two former had long entered on

§ 10. Campaign between France and Austria in Italy, 1796.

§ 11. State of Italy in 1795.

their decline. The Pope was of importance, not on account of the Papal States, but for his spiritual prestige ; Milan was an Austrian possession, and Tuscany held by a Habsburg ; while Naples and Parma belonged to the Bourbons. The majority of these powers were either openly or secretly hostile to the French Republic. The Pope was indignant at the treatment of the Church, and because Avignon had been taken from him. The Queen of Naples was a sister of Marie Antoinette, and hated the revolutionaries with an intensity verging on madness. Most bitter of all was the King of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III, the father-in-law of the Counts of Provence and Artois, brothers of Louis XVI. His was the buffer state of Piedmont, which had been robbed of Nice and Savoy in 1792 ; but, undaunted by these losses, he hoped with the Habsburgs' aid to yet avenge himself upon his enemies. In spite of the small extent of his kingdom, he had a very efficient army, which he modelled on that of Frederick the Great, and, on the approach of the French forces, he placed it under an Austrian general, Colli.

In 1795, when the Directory came into power, Victor Amadeus and the Austrians alone of all the Italian powers were at war with France ; Naples and Tuscany had been forced to make terms, and Venice had declared herself neutral. Schérer, the French general, had just defeated the Austrians at Loano, and by this opened communications with Genoa, where a large democratic party were friendly to the republic. He did not, however, follow up his victory, and the Home Government determined to replace him by a younger man.

Their choice fell on Napoleon Bonaparte, then only twenty-seven years of age, but whose worth had already been proved at Toulon and in the defence of the Con-

vention. He himself had no misgivings as to his capacities, the French and his self-confidence impressed both the Directory ^{army in Italy.} and the experienced generals over whom he was placed. 'We have found our master,' said the already famous Massena, as he emerged from his first interview with the new commander-in-chief. Bonaparte possessed all the abilities necessary for the task he had undertaken. To ^{Qualities of Napoleon Bonaparte.} the knowledge of a profound strategist he brought a youthful energy and vigour that constantly surprised his enemies, while his mature judgement prevented his daring from degenerating into rashness. Perhaps his greatest quality was his keen mental vision, which enabled him in a crisis to distinguish at once between what was essential and what was only of secondary importance. Yet his interest in the main issues of affairs never led him to disregard details, and the key to his military successes, apart from his genius, lay in the absolute thoroughness of his methods. Nothing was so small that it escaped the scrutiny of his eagle glance.

The new general found his army in a state of great ^{State of} disorder; provisions were scarce, pay was in arrears, and ^{the French army in} a general sullen gloom prevailed in the camp. His ^{Italy.} address to his troops restored their enthusiasm; but it is significant that he appealed, not to their patriotism, but to their self-love. 'Soldiers,' he said, 'you are half starved and half naked. The Government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I am about to lead you into the most fertile valleys of the world: there you will reap honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of the army of Italy, will you lack courage?' His words recall an almost prophetic utterance of the English admiral, Lord Nelson: 'Italy is a gold mine, and if once entered is without means of resistance.'

Napoleon's first Campaign was as rapid as it was ^{§ 13. First stage in the campaign.}

successful. Entering the peninsula by the opening between the foot of the Maritime Alps and the sea, he brought the main body of his army between the Sardinians who were protecting their capital, Turin, and the Austrians who were in the neighbourhood of Genoa. Within a month he had defeated the forces of Victor Amadeus five times, and appeared at Cherasco, about

The armis-
tice of
Cherasco,
April,
1796.

10 miles from Turin. Here he dictated the terms of an armistice to his terrified foes. Nice and Savoy were to remain French, and the principal fortresses of Piedmont were to be garrisoned by his troops.

§ 14.
Second
stage in the
campaign.

So swift had his movements been that the Austrians, under the aged Beaulieu, had failed to come to the help of their allies. Hearing that, amongst other strongholds, the French general had demanded at Cherasco the town of Valenza on the Po, Beaulieu made up his mind that Napoleon intended to ford the river there on his way to Milan. He, therefore, hurried northwards, and massed his troops at that point; but it was only to find he had fallen into a trap carefully laid for him. Valenza was merely a blind, and Bonaparte had pushed much further along the southern bank of the Po, and then crossed at Piacenza, to the south-east of Milan. His action left the Austrians no choice but to desert the capital of Lombardy, and retreat towards Mantua, where their supplies of grain and ammunition were stored. Had they hesitated they would have been cut off, and, as it was, they suffered defeat at Lodi on the Adda, where the

Battle of
Lodi, May,
1796.

French came up with them. It was a hotly contested battle around a wooden bridge, and Napoleon himself was amongst the first to cross in the face of a galling artillery fire. This act of personal courage endeared him to his soldiers, and won for him their affectionate nickname of 'the little corporal'.

His victory left Bonaparte complete master of Lombardy, and he entered Milan in triumph, where he was received with joy by the citizens, who hated the Austrian rule and hailed the French as the apostles of liberty. They were forced to pay dearly for their friendship, since it was the aim of the Directory to make their armies not only self-supporting, but a source of profit to the Government at home. A heavy fine was imposed on Lombardy, and the palaces and houses of Milan were ransacked for priceless treasures of art and literature, which should flatter the vanity of Paris; a special present of a hundred fine horses was sent to the Directors, as the general rather arrogantly remarked, 'to replace the poor creatures which now draw your carriages.'

After waiting at Milan till he heard that the Government had ratified the armistice of Cherasco, and having suppressed a revolt at Pavia, where the Lombards had objected to the pillaging of French troops, Napoleon advanced across the Adda towards the Austrian position on the Mincio. Here he found Mantua, the strongest fortress in North Italy admirably situated on the junction of the Mincio and Po, well garrisoned by the enemy; while Beaulieu himself was encamped at Peschiera at the foot of Lake Garda. These two strongholds commanded the entrance into Venetian territory to the north of the Po.

Bonaparte threw his army upon the Austrians, who were defending the Upper Mincio, and drove them back in such confusion that Beaulieu was forced to retreat into the Tyrol. His enemy then invested Mantua, being left once more, except for this stronghold, in command of North Italy. The Pope and the King of Naples hastened to procure armistices with this apparently invincible general, and the masterpieces of the Vatican were sent to swell the trophies of Napoleon.

Napoleon
enters
Milan.

Revolt at
Pavia sup-
pressed.

Austrians
defeated
on the
Upper
Mincio.

§ 15. Third stage in the campaign. The third stage of the Italian campaign saw Beaulieu superseded by another veteran, Würmser. The imperial troops descended the Alps in two divisions, one under the Commander-in-Chief himself to the east of Lake Garda, the other to the west under Quasdonowich. Bonaparte perceived that, if he allowed the enemy's forces to join on the Mincio, he would be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Raising the siege of Mantua, he hurried northwards, and defeated Quasdonowich at Lonato, just before he turned the corner of the lake. He then fell back and attacked Würmser, who had marched as far south as Mantua. The veteran proved no match for his young opponent; the Austrian troops were badly beaten, and fled into the Tyrol, while their general was forced to take refuge in the fortress which he had come to relieve. So great was the discouragement of the imperial troops that on every side they demanded peace, 'since they did not know how to make war.'

The Cispadane Republic formed.

§ 16. Fourth stage in the campaign.

While the royal council at Vienna was constructing fresh plans, Napoleon occupied himself by gratifying the democratic aspirations of some of the northern Italians. Reggio and Modena were taken from their Duke and united to the Papal legations of Bologna and Ferrara, to form a Cispadane republic on the model of the French. France was gratified by the news, but the Directors were annoyed, and found the independent actions of their former protégé little to their liking. They would almost have been glad to hear of his failure. The next dispatches brought news of fresh laurels gained. Once more the Austrians had descended from the Alps in two divisions—one under Davidovich through the valley of the Adige, and the other under Alvinzi down the Piave, a river flowing into the Adriatic a little to the

north of Venice. Again Napoleon had prevented a junction of the enemy's forces, and, having defeated Alvinzi in the three days' battle of Arcola, caused Davidovich to retire. After some delay Alvinzi advanced once more to the attack, but only to be overthrown at Rivoli by superior generalship. The aged Würmser was compelled to surrender Mantua, and the French were now in complete possession of North Italy.

In spite of his armistice, Pope Pius VI had never ceased to intrigue with the Austrians; and, on the retreat of the latter, Napoleon sent a force to invade the Papal States. The Roman army fled before it, and His Holiness hastily agreed to the Peace of Tolentino, where he gained very favourable terms. The French general had no desire to rouse the anger of Catholic Europe by any unnecessary harshness.

Napoleon was now prepared to play his part in the march on Vienna devised by Carnot; but his fellow generals on the Rhine had not been equally successful. Austria had at length found a commander of genius in the Archduke Leopold, a younger brother of the Emperor. With consummate skill he had placed himself between the armies of Jourdan and Moreau, and, falling with his whole strength upon the former, forced him to retire beyond the Rhine. Moreau did not hear these evil tidings till he had well advanced into Bavaria, and his subsequent retreat through a hostile country, which his soldiers had ravaged on his previous advance, has made his name famous in military history. He extricated himself with great brilliance from an extremely awkward situation, and thus brought glory on the Republic, but her victorious career received a distinct check.

Napoleon, on his part, was determined to advance into

§ 18.
Napoleon
advances
into
Austria.

The Pre-
liminaries
of Leoben,
April, 1797.

Austria before the Emperor could collect all his troops to overwhelm him in Italy, and this time he found himself opposed by the Archduke Leopold, who had been recalled from the Rhine. Again the Corsican general was victorious, and drove the enemy before him through the passes of the Tyrol. At Leoben, within 100 miles of Vienna, he consented to draw up the preliminaries of a peace which the Directory had really given him no right to negotiate.

By this the Austrians acquiesced in the loss of Belgium and Lombardy, and agreed to take the long-coveted territories of Venice by way of compensation. The French treatment of that unfortunate republic had been disgraceful throughout the campaigns. Napoleon had never neglected an opportunity of violating her neutrality, or of addressing her in threatening terms.

§ 19.
Napoleon
at Venice.

On his return from Leoben he at once visited Venice, and induced the Senate to resign in favour of a more democratic government. He then became most gracious, and wrote to the new rulers of the Republic, 'I shall do everything in my power to give you proof of the great desire I have to see your liberty take root, and to see this unhappy Italy freed from the rule of strangers.' Nothing could have been more hypocritical than this language after his proposals to the Austrians; and Bonaparte did not leave Venice until he had robbed her of the Ionian Islands and emptied her arsenal.

§ 20.
Genoa be-
comes the
Ligurian
Republic,
June, 1797.

The Treaty
of Campo
Formio,
Oct., 1797.

With regard to the rest of Italy, his conduct was both more genuine and liberal. Genoa, in spite of a rebellion against the French, was made into the self-governing Ligurian Republic, and by the Treaty of Campo Formio of October, 1797, which ratified the Preliminaries of Leoben, Lombardy west of the Adige, together with the little Cispadane Republic, was formed into the large

Cisalpine Republic. Venice, as well as her territories, however, became the property of Austria.

The
Cisalpine
Republic.

A complete agreement as to the Rhine boundary was left to a future Congress. Before the terms of Campo Formio were carried into effect, the man who had done most to make them possible had returned to France to receive the applause of Paris. He left behind him an army full of pride at its own victories, and far more devoted to his person than to the Republic, whose name was their battle-cry.

CHAPTER X

THE DIRECTORY

§ 1. Internal Government of the Directory. § 2. The Clichians. § 3. The Maritime War. § 4. Treaty of San Ildefonso. § 5. Battle of Cape St. Vincent. § 6. Battle of Camperdown. § 7. Expedition under Hoche to Ireland. § 8. Invasion of Ireland in 1798. § 9. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. § 10. Paul II. § 11. Attitude of the Directory towards Switzerland. § 12. The Roman Republic established. § 13. The Parthenopean Republic established. § 14. Break-up of the Congress of Rastadt. § 15. The First Law of Conscription. § 16. Russian victories in Italy. § 17. The battle of Zurich. § 18. Lack of agreement between the allies. § 19. Unpopularity of the Directory. § 20. The Revolution of the 18th Brumaire. § 21. The Provisional Government of the Consulate.

§ 1. Internal Government of the Directory. THE Directory, whose authority had been established after the unsuccessful attack on the Tuilleries in October 1795, realized that its position was precarious and determined to conciliate public feeling at home and abroad by a wise display of moderation. The death of little Louis XVII in June, 1795, as the result of ill-treatment and neglect, left only his sister, Madame Royale, in the hands of the French Government, and in December of the same year they consented to exchange the young **La Vendée.** Princess for some deputies imprisoned in Vienna. Their next care was to pacify France, for the rebellion in La Vendée still continued, though it had ceased to be a real menace. Hoche, a general who seemed likely to rival Napoleon in fame and popularity, was responsible for the restoration of good order, which he obtained by a judicious mixture of severity and leniency. Save for

some bands of marauders in the south, who posed as Jacobins or Royalists according as it suited their ends, the country was for the time quiet.

Only within the Government itself were there signs of disorder. The one-third of the Legislative Council which had not been chosen from the Convention but returned by popular vote, was distinctly royalist in sympathy. This does not mean that reaction had brought back a slavish love of the Bourbons, but that all through France a desire was spreading for a stable government such as England enjoyed under her constitutional monarchy. The party that expressed this hope was known by the name of 'The Clichians', from the club at which their leaders met ; and the Comte de Provence, now Louis XVIII, believed that through it he might effect a Bourbon restoration. The elections of 1797 made this prospect appear even more favourable. Scarcely any of the original members of the Convention were returned, while the Clichians obtained a striking majority. This led to friction with the Directors, only one of whom, according to the laws of the constitution, had retired. The new Director, Barthélemy, was a royalist and found himself supported by Carnot, who was anxious to efface his previous reputation as an agent of the Terror ; but the other three remained republicans, and their quarrels with the legislature soon showed the intrinsic weakness of the new Government. The Directory and the Councils were bodies possessing coequal powers, and no provision had been made for the decision of cases in which their policy might be opposed.

It seemed as if the Clichians would be strong enough to force the hostile Directors to resign. The able general, Pichegrui, who had been removed from his

Dissensions in the Legislative Councils.

§ 2. The Clichians.

Pichegrui becomes a Clichian leader.

command on the Rhine for intriguing with the *émigrés*, was chosen President of the Council of the Five Hundred, and he and the legislature continually urged the necessity of a European peace.

The Directors, on the other hand, were pledged to war, for they rested for their support on the army, through whom they obtained a large increase of their revenues. They were also afraid to recall from the front the many ambitious generals, who might easily threaten their own authority if they returned to France.

The fall

of the
Clichians,

Sept., 1797.

Indecision proved the ruin of the Clichians, who though royalists could not agree in the choice of a king, for some were alienated by Louis XVIII's unwise refusal to permit any limitation of his prerogative, and wished for either Louis Philippe, a son of Philip *Égalité*, or one of the Hohenzollern princes. While they disputed, the Directors secured their downfall. Bonaparte, who had no wish for either peace or a royalist reaction, sent Augereau, one of his generals, from Italy to support the republicans, and in September, 1797, troops surrounded the Tuileries and seized the Clichian leaders, amongst them Pichegrus. 'By what right', demanded one of these deputies, 'do you dare to arrest the representatives of the people?' and the commanding officer replied, 'By the power of the sword.'

The Direc-
tory falls
under the
power of
the army.

His answer was a true, if unintentional, prophecy of the foundation of authority in France for many years to follow. The Republican Directors had overthrown their rivals, but the weapon they had used was to turn against themselves, and from the time of their *coup d'état* they were the servants of the army. Without any attempt at justice the leaders of the Clichians were deported, and with them Barthélemy, while Carnot alone escaped a like fate by a hasty flight into Switzerland.

The elections for the vacant seats in the legislature were held under the scrutiny of the triumphant republicans, who quashed the choice of any unfavourable candidates. In these arbitrary proceedings France acquiesced, partly because she was weary of revolutions and desired internal peace at all costs, and partly because her vanity was flattered by the tales of French prowess in Italy, and the constant influx of the trophies of war and pillage.

In naval matters the Republic presented a less glorious record, for since she had embarked on war with England ^{§ 3. The Maritime War.} she had experienced an almost uninterrupted series of maritime defeats. Her own navy had been demoralized by the revolution, for the spread of democratic doctrines led to mutiny, and the constant change of Governments to indiscipline and treachery, while the seamen were difficult to collect, since service on board ship offered fewer chances of pillage than on land.

In 1796 the Directory entered into an alliance with Spain by the Treaty of San Ildefonso, which settled ^{§ 4. Treaty of San Ildefonso, 1796.} that Spain should declare war on England, and that she and France should then proceed to demolish Portugal as the ally of their enemy.

This alliance caused the English fleet to evacuate The Corsica and hasten to the defence of Gibraltar, an act which placed the Mediterranean at the mercy of France. Great Britain had now to face three hostile navies, the French, the Spanish, and the Batavian; and she must watch the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and protect her colonies. Her difficulties were complicated by the mutinous state of her own fleet, which was badly fed, harshly treated, and largely recruited from the criminal classes. She had, however, the advantage over her adversaries in her naval commanders. Howe, Duncan, Sir

John Jervis, Nelson, and Collingwood were all admirals of note, though in varying degrees. The French possessed no naval officers of any distinction, and in actual battles also the British seaman forgot his wrongs and fought with a steadiness and bravery that subjects of the Republic usually reserved for their campaigns on terra firma.

§ 5. Battle of Cape St. Vincent, Feb., 1797. In February, 1797, the English fleet, under Sir John Jervis, attacked the combined navies of France and Spain off Cape St. Vincent, the southernmost point of Portugal. The result, chiefly owing to the brilliance of Nelson, who was then a captain, was the decided defeat of the allies.

Mutiny at the Nore.

Another British victory was obtained in the summer of the same year over the Dutch, whose fleet Admiral Duncan had kept blockaded in the Texel, in spite of a serious mutiny at the Nore amongst his own men. On one occasion there were only two ships to watch fourteen of the enemy's vessels of the line, but the ruse succeeded, for the Dutch imagined a large fleet was within hail. When an engagement finally took place, Duncan had suppressed the mutiny, and at the battle of Camperdown the fleet of the Batavian Republic was absolutely destroyed.

§ 6. Battle of Camperdown, Oct., 1797.

The Directory, conscious of their inferiority to their enemy on the open sea, meantime determined to strike her in a more vulnerable spot. Ireland was always in a state of chronic discontent with the Government of the mother country, a feeling intensified by the internal feuds of Protestants and Roman Catholics. In 1796 she appeared on the eve of rebellion, and Hoche was dispatched with a fleet to land troops in Bantry Bay to assist the insurgents, but a storm dispersed the ships and nothing was effected. In the following year, soon after he had replaced Moreau in command of the army of the Rhine,

§ 7. Expedition to Ireland under Hoche, 1796.

Hoche died and Bonaparte was left without a military rival of any importance. A second attempt on Ireland in 1798 proved as unsuccessful as the first. The troops were indeed landed, but in the remote County of Clare, where they met with little encouragement, and after advancing inland and winning the battle of Castlebar they were compelled to surrender to an English force under Lord Cornwallis.

In spite of these failures, the Directory still believed that if they could once land a sufficient army somewhere in the United Kingdom the poorer classes would rise in their favour, and conquest, as elsewhere in Europe, would be assured. Bonaparte, on his return from Italy, was therefore placed in command of the Army of the Interior, with orders to consider the prospects of an invasion of England. He studied the matter, and decided the plan was at that time impracticable, but he suggested instead that he should lead an expedition to the East, to overthrow British interests where they were least secure. England's commerce would be crippled if she lost India and her East Indian islands.

The Directors joyfully agreed to this plan, not so much from a belief in the probability of his success as because it would rid them of the restless genius they were beginning to dread. In May, 1798, Napoleon set out from Toulon, narrowly escaping Nelson's fleet, which was cruising near that port. He took with him, in addition to his army, a body of students learned in arts and archaeology, to act as guides in the pillage of the East. As in the case of his invasion of Italy, he appealed to the cupidity of those who followed him: 'I have come to lead you', he said, 'into remote lands where your bravery can achieve glory and wealth, such as never could be looked for beneath the cold heavens of the West.'

Death of
Hoche,
1797.

§ 8. Inva-
sion of
Ireland in
1798.

Bonaparte
is made
General of
the Army
of the
Interior.

§ 9. Bonaparte's ex-
pedition to
Egypt,
May, 1798.

French
capture
Malta.

On his voyage through the Mediterranean he paused to reduce Malta, which was hastily surrendered by the Knights of St. John, who had held it since the later Middle Ages. He then continued on his way to Egypt, after leaving a garrison at Malta, and landed at Alexandria. Egypt was at that time nominally under the rule of the Sultan, but really governed by the Mamelukes, a military caste which had established a galling despotism. Napoleon made every effort possible to win the people from their allegiance to the Porte, and ordered his soldiers to show respect to the Musalman worship. In one of his proclamations he declared himself 'to have more reverence for God, Mohammed, and the Koran than the Mamelukes themselves'.

The battle
of the
Pyramids,
July, 1798.

As usual, his words were merely the precursors of rapid action, and, proceeding down the Nile in July, he overthrew the Mamelukes at the battle of the Pyramids and entered Cairo. He was now in possession of Egypt, but only to find his communications with France were cut off, and that he could not hope for supplies of either men or ammunition.

The battle
of the Nile,
Aug., 1798.

The English fleet under Nelson had completely destroyed the French ships awaiting his orders in Aboukir Bay, in the famous battle of the Nile, and by this and the capture of Malta and Minorca had re-established England's supremacy in the Mediterranean. A Turkish army now landed in Palestine to oppose the French, and Bonaparte advanced into Syria to meet it. He took Jaffa, but was checked before Acre, whose defence was ably conducted by an English admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, and in May he was forced to raise the siege and retire into Egypt. In his dispatch to the French Government he declared he had obtained his object, and 'reduced Acre to a heap of stones'; but in reality his retreat was

Siege of
Acre, 1799.

Napoleon
retires into
Egypt.

caused by the tidings he received at intervals of European affairs, and his determination was at all hazards to sail for France.

His departure to the East had not only filled the Directory with joy, but raised the hopes of Austria, who believed that her failure to keep Italy had been entirely due to the genius of the Corsican general. The Emperor was therefore prepared to receive favourably England's proposals of a new coalition to oppose the French.

Another ally was found in Russia. Paul I had by § 10. now determined to discard his neutral attitude and embark on a war with France, for he was deeply insulted by the favour shown by the Republic to Polish rebels, and by Napoleon's seizure of Malta, whose knights had lately created him their protector. The new Tsar had throughout his mother's reign been kept in a position of entire dependence, and deprived of all political power. He had been allowed to see but little of his own children, and had good reason to suspect that the Tsarina wished his claims to the throne set aside in their favour.

Such treatment had increased the suspicions and ill-temper of a naturally morose character, and when Paul ascended the throne at the age of forty-two his ungovernable rage soon developed into insanity. The Court of the tyrannical Catherine appeared a home of liberty when compared with that of her successor, whose despotism might have been laughable but for the danger of those who suffered from it. Wealthy nobles and their wives were forced to dismount from their carriages in the snowy streets of St. Petersburg to salute the Tsar as he passed by; while pedestrians were chased through the city by soldiers, and beaten at the guard-houses, for daring to wear the frock-coat and high collar which the leaders of the revolution had made fashionable.

Paul hated the Jacobins sincerely, but his capricious temper prevented him from maintaining a constant struggle with the French Republic, and England and Austria put little faith in his promises, for they knew a word or a sneer was sufficient to overshadow any political considerations in his unbalanced mind.

§ 11. Attitude of the Directory towards Switzerland.

Nevertheless, by the spring of 1799, circumstances seemed favourable to a renewed campaign, for the Directory had alienated the former allies of France by an unwise display of arbitrary power. Switzerland, as has been shown, had throughout the revolutionary wars maintained an attitude of neutrality. She felt that France was a sister republic, whose struggle in the cause of liberty must not be retarded, but in reality the Government of very few of the Cantons resembled that of the new régime in France. In the majority of cases authority rested with an oligarchy of nobles or burghers, under whose sway feudal obligations and mediaeval restrictions flourished as rampantly as ever in Bourbon France.

The
Helvetian
Republic
established
April,
1798.

The democrats of Switzerland, on hearing of the conquest of Italy, appealed to the French Government for aid against their rulers, and, unmindful of the debt they owed the Cantons, the Directory sent an army which overthrew the existing constitution and established an Helvetian Republic according to the approved style. This revolution was good in as far as actual reforms were concerned. Feudal traditions were banished, internal custom-houses with their cramping system swept away, and torture was abolished; but the changes aroused great indignation. Even the most democratic of the Swiss did not wish their liberty maintained by a foreign soldiery, and the resident French troops were forced to stay under arms in self-defence.

§ 12. The
Roman

Relations between conquerors and conquered had also

grown strained on the other side of the Alps. General Republic Berthier, who had been left in command in Italy, pos- ^{established} Feb., 1798 sessed neither Napoleon's tact nor judgement. Taking advantage of the murder of a French ambassador in Rome, and refusing to receive any apologies or explanations from the Pope, he advanced into the States of the Church, and forced Pius VI to seek refuge in Pisa. His capital in February, 1798, was made the centre of a Roman Republic, over which the Directory, inspired by classical traditions, placed Consuls and Tribunes.

The King of Naples, seeing himself threatened, endeavoured to assist Pius, and his army under Mack, ^{Neapolitans under Mack take} an Austrian, succeeded in recovering Rome, but the triumph was shortlived. The French defeated the Neapolitans soon after, and overthrew the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, setting up in its place the Parthenopean Republic. Tuscany was also taken from its Grand Duke, and Charles Emmanuel IV robbed of Piedmont by Joubert without any previous declaration of war. Thus Italy, with the exception of Venice, was under French control. Its inhabitants began to realize that their conquerors had come as tyrants and not as liberators, and the feelings of the Catholics were outraged by the virtual imprisonment of Pius VI and his death in 1799, caused by the shock of his change of fortunes.

An outbreak of hostilities against the French began on both sides of the Alps, regardless of the fact that the Congress appointed by the Treaty of Campo Formio to settle disputes between France and the Empire was still sitting at Rastadt. Its meetings soon became a mockery, ^{§ 14.} and the envoys of the Republic took their departure. On their journey they were murdered by some Austrian troops; and the Directory, roused by this act of treachery, embarked on a determined war.

Death of Pius VI, 1799.

Break-up of the Congress of Kastadt, April, 1799.

§ 15. The First Law of Conscription, 1798. It was not altogether unprepared and as early as the autumn of 1798 had passed a law of conscription, by which every Frenchman between the ages of twenty and twenty-five was forced to undergo a military training, and was liable to be called out by the Government.

§ 16. Russian victories in Italy. The campaign in Italy resulted in disaster for the Republic. Combined armies of Russians and Austrians crossed the Alps, and Suvoroff, the Russian general, drove Moreau, now at the head of the French forces in the peninsula, across Lombardy and seized Milan.

Cisalpine Republic overthrown. The Cisalpine Republic was abolished, and the victors pushed into Piedmont and shut up Moreau in Genoa. Suvoroff then wheeled to the south to meet a French army under Macdonald, advancing from Naples. An

The battle of the Trebbia, June, 1799. engagement took place on the river Trebbia, where for three days an indecisive contest raged. Finally the republicans withdrew, and, taking the road between the Apennines and the sea, joined their fellow-countrymen in Genoa. This combination of forces made the Directory hopeful of another attempt to reconquer Lombardy, and Joubert was placed over the remnants of both armies. The French then advanced, but only to suffer

The battle of Novi, Aug., 1799. a crushing defeat at Novi from Suvoroff, in which their commander-in-chief perished. Italy had been freed from the rule of the Republic as speedily as she had previously been won.

§ 17. The battle of Zurich, Sept., 1799. In Switzerland, on the other hand, Massena upheld the reputation of France and defeated a Russian army at the battle of Zurich. He was equally successful against Suvoroff, who had in September, 1799, advanced to meet him by way of the St. Gothard Pass, and the Russian general was forced to retreat with an army diminished by disease and bad weather, as well as by actual fighting.

A coolness had by this time sprung up between the allies. The Austrians were jealous of the Russian victories, for now the buffer-state of Poland was removed, they felt the Tsar's dominions were unpleasantly close to their own. Paul was indignant at what he considered the Emperor's want of co-operation, and with the results of a campaign in Holland, where English and Russians had fought several indecisive battles against the French and Dutch. In October the Duke of York, the English commander, agreed to an armistice, by which he was to evacuate Holland; and Paul, enraged at this news and by the hostility of the Austrians, recalled his troops.

France, in spite of the loss of Italy and her maritime failure, emerged with considerable glory from her struggle with the Coalition, but the unpopularity of the Directory was rather increased than diminished. Its actions pleased neither royalists nor republicans, and its reputation suffered from only too well-founded accusations of corruption. Two of the Directors once suggested to the English agent, Lord Malmesbury, that they might be able to negotiate terms of peace if they received a fee of £500,000; and this peculation in the higher offices descended through all the branches of the administration.

But besides being corrupt, the Government was also inefficient, and though on the fall of the Clichians it oppressed all whom it suspected of royalist tendencies, it did little to cope with renewed outbreaks of brigandage and revolt in the south and west.

In May, 1799, the Abbé Sieyès was elected a Director. The Abbé Sieyès becomes a Director. He was the same man who had led the National Assembly¹, and had afterwards helped to frame the Constitution of 1791. He had been one of those to vote

¹ See p. 79.

for the death of the King, and had abjured Christianity and served on the Committee of Public Safety, but his popularity had escaped untarnished. A belief in himself and a gift of discreet silence had impressed men with the idea that he was very wise, and that if he were allowed he could save France from her enemies.

His election was an indication of the general feeling that something must be done to change the Government, and he at once showed that he was prepared to act with the Councils rather than with his colleagues. A month after he had entered office he secured the downfall of the hostile Directors, who were replaced by his friends, and the legislature became supreme in public affairs.

Sieyès, though he had been one of the first advocates of national liberty, had an inborn contempt for the people, and his desire was to establish a strong government which could control them. When he looked round for the means, his eyes rested on the one man who in the last few years had made the name of France really feared abroad. A Parisian newspaper, mourning the loss of Italy, wrote, 'It is Bonaparte we lack,' and the nation took up the cry.

In October Napoleon had landed in France, having once more barely escaped capture by an English fleet. He appeared crowned with the laurels of victory, for his last act before leaving Egypt had been the destruction of the Turkish army at Aboukir. Every one at home looked to him for aid in the prevailing indecision; and, as a mark of popular esteem, his brother Lucien was elected President of the Council of Five Hundred.

Bonaparte consulted with Sieyès and two more astute politicians, Fouché and Talleyrand; preparations were made for a *coup d'état*, and a pretext was invented for removing the two Councils from Paris to Saint-Cloud.

Napoleon arrives in France, Oct., 1799.

On November 9, or the eighteenth Brumaire, the blow ^{§ 20.} The was finally struck. Sieyès and his friends resigned ^{Revolution of the 18th} their offices, and Bonaparte at the head of some troops ^{Brumaire.} rode to Saint-Cloud to coerce the legislature.

Neither of the Councils were inclined to show the same meekness as the Directors. Napoleon's demands that they should resign in the interests of liberty and equality were met by shouts for the Constitution, and a rush was made upon him which drove him from the hall. His brother Lucien followed him out, and in his capacity as President of the Five Hundred called on the soldiery for help. 'The Assembly', he said, 'was controlled by brigands, who were probably incited by the English Government, and the representatives of the people must be freed from their presence.'

In answer to his summons, the Grenadiers, after a moment's hesitation, advanced into the hall with their bayonets fixed, and the hostile deputies of the Five Hundred filed out between the lines, or made their escape by the windows. The *Anciens* were compelled to follow their example, and those who were left in both Councils abolished the Directory, and established a Pro- ^{§ 21.} The vision Government of Three Consuls: Bonaparte, Sieyès, ^{Provisional Government of the} and Roger Ducos. ^{Consulate.}

Of these, one towered above the rest, the man on whom France had set her hopes for the future, the conqueror of Italy and Egypt. The nation was weary of revolutions, but so great was the popularity of Napoleon, that the news of the *coup d'état* of the eighteenth Brumaire was received with joy both in Paris and the provinces.

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BOOK III

NAPOLEON, 1799-1815.

CHAPTER XI

THE CONSULATE

§ 1. The Constitution of the Year VIII. § 2. Napoleon's policy of reconciliation. § 3. The publication of the Civil Code. § 4. Napoleon's campaign in Italy. § 5. The battle of Hohenlinden. § 6. The Treaty of Lunéville. § 7. Destruction of the French power in Egypt. § 8. Friendship of Paul I and Napoleon. § 9. France and Portugal. § 10. The Peace of Amiens. § 11. Napoleon is made First Consul for life. § 12. Napoleon and the French Church. § 13. Reorganization of the Batavian Republic. § 14. Napoleon becomes President of the Cisalpine Republic. § 15. Napoleon becomes Mediator in the affairs of Switzerland. § 16. Napoleon annexes Piedmont and Elba to France. § 17. Renewed war between England and France. § 18. The plot of Georges Cadoudal. § 19. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien. § 20. Napoleon becomes Emperor. § 21. Napoleon becomes King of Italy. § 22. Francis II becomes Emperor of Austria.

England.

George III, 1760-1820.

France.

The Consulate, 1799-1804.
Napoleon I, 1804-15.

Spain.

Charles IV, 1788-1808.
Ferdinand VII, 1808.
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808-13.
Ferdinand VII, 1813-33.

Portugal.

Maria I, 1786-1816.

The Papacy.

Pius VII, 1800-23.

The Empire.

Francis II, 1792-1804.
Holy Roman Empire abolished.

Austria.

Francis II, 1792-1806.
Francis II becomes the Emperor
Francis I, 1806-35.

Prussia.

Frederick William III, 1797-1840.

Russia.

Paul I, 1796-1801.
Alexander I, 1801-25.

Sweden.

Gustavus IV, 1792-1809.
Charles XIII, 1809-18.

Denmark and Norway.

Frederick VI (Regent), 1784-1808.

Frederick VI (King), 1808-39.
(Norway annexed to Sweden, 1814.)

The Ottoman Empire.

Selim III (dep.), 1789-1807.
Mustapha IV (dep.), 1807-8.
Mahmoud II, 1808-39.

§ 1. The
Constitu-
tion of the
Year VIII,
Dec., 1799.

THE Provisional Government established on the fall of the Directory lasted for little over a month; and during that time it drew up the Constitution of the Year VIII, known to after history as 'The Consulate'. The document was chiefly the work of Sieyès, but the alterations effected by Bonaparte were sufficient to change its whole character.

The Abbé was more of a theorist than a practical politician, and he reasoned that in most of the revolutionary governments the legislature had had too much power, while in the time of the Great Committee of Public Safety, on the other hand, the executive had been omnipotent. He hoped to steer his way between these dangers by carefully defining the exact duties of the various branches of the constitution, and by preventing them from overstepping the limits set.

With regard to the legislature, there were to be three assemblies: the Council of State, which was to prepare laws; the Tribunate, with whom it was to discuss them; and the Legislative Body, which was to sit by in silence during the discussions, and at the end vote whether the measures should be passed or not, by a simple 'Yes' or 'No.'

On the question of the suffrage, Sieyès was guided by the principle 'that no one should be appointed to office by those whom he was to govern'; for the course of the

revolution had convinced him that a system of popular election might be carried too far. In order not to arouse the indignation of France, he drew up an elaborate scheme, by which the people elected a large number of representatives, whose names were put on a national list. From this list the Senate, a council whose members were chosen for life, selected the deputies of the Tribune and the Legislative Body.

Up to this point Bonaparte agreed with the new constitution, for he was quite ready to see a muzzle put on the utterances both of the legislature and nation ; but when Sieyès proceeded to try and control the actions of the executive also, he interfered. It was the Abbé's idea that there should be a First Consul, known as the Grand Elector, who should choose two other Consuls, one for peace and one for war. The Elector himself was to take no active part in the Government, and, as the Corsican general impatiently exclaimed, 'What man of spirit would accept such a post ?'

Napoleon then sketched out the scheme of an executive which met with his approval, and which was subsequently adopted. In this there were to be three Consuls, but two of them mere shadows of the other. They were to hold office for ten years, and were to choose the Ministers, the Council of State, and the Senate. Since the latter selected the members of the Legislative Body and the Tribune, the Consuls either directly or indirectly appointed the whole legislature ; and the constitution, instead of securing a delicate balance of power as Sieyès intended, established a complete despotism.

Napoleon Bonaparte was of course named First Consul, with two able lawyers, Cambacérès and Le Brun, as his colleagues. His first acts were inspired by the idea that he must make this Government popular and thus disguise

§ 2.
Napoleon's
policy of
reconcilia-
tion.

the fact that the political rights which the revolutionary leaders had striven to obtain were once more lost. His policy of reconciliation met with immediate success, for the nation was delighted to find a ruler who stood above all parties. It is true that Napoleon had been a Jacobin in the past, but his views were dictated by expediency, not by convictions. The guiding principle of his whole career was neither equality nor liberty, but the development of personal ambitions.

The Directory, after the downfall of the Clichians, had irritated France by its harsh treatment of all who might be royalists, and it had often fined and imprisoned men as *émigrés* who had never left their country or conspired against the Government. It had exacted forced loans from the rich, and exasperated the poor by its corrupt method of collecting taxes and by allowing brigandage to continue.

No one had felt safe, but with the establishment of the Consulate all this was changed. The list of *émigrés* was closed and hundreds of 'suspects' were released from prison or allowed to return from exile. Even the priests who had refused to take the oath to the Republic were permitted to come back to France, on condition that they would promise to obey the new Government; and many of the churches which had been closed were reopened. Taxation remained heavy, but its inequalities were removed and the officials responsible for its exaction were carefully supervised. A Bank of France was also established under the guarantee of the Consulate.

§ 3. The
publica-
tion of the
Civil Code,
March,
1804.

Even more important than these wise measures was the publication of the Civil Code in March, 1804. Previous to the revolution, France had suffered from the utter confusion of her legal system, for the law had varied not only in the royal, seigniorial, and ecclesiastical courts,

but in different parts of the country. 'A traveller through France', Voltaire had said, 'changes his laws as often as he changes his post-horses.'

It had been the endeavour of each revolutionary Government to establish a new system, and the Great Committee of Public Safety had done some able work in this direction and laid the foundation, on which anarchy had prevented them from building an actual code. It is known was under the supervision of the First Consul that a 'Code' committee of skilled lawyers completed this edifice, *Napoléon*'.

which the Corsican hoped to perpetuate his fame under the title of the 'Code Napoléon'. 'My glory, consists,' he remarked shortly before his death, 'not in having won forty battles, but in the Civil Code.'

The Code Napoléon had some defects, the results chiefly of over-hasty construction, but it came as a very valuable gift to France. It became possible to know what the law was, and the principle of equality in a court of justice was firmly established. The man who had done most to ensure the publication of the Code reaped a deserved popularity, and at the same time strengthened his own power by securing the appointment of the majority of judges who came into office under the new administration.

The establishment of the Consulate found France still at war with the Second Coalition, and Napoleon at once turned his attention to Italian affairs. After the retreat of the Russians, Austria had remained the predominant power in Italy, and had shown her selfish ambitions by restoring the Habsburg Ferdinand to Tuscany, but refusing to give back Piedmont to Charles Emmanuel IV. Massena, who had been sent to lead the French forces, had been shut up in Genoa by overwhelming numbers and kept there closely besieged. The First Consul

§ 4.
Napoleon's
campaign
in Italy.
Massena is
besieged in
Genoa.

Napoleon crosses the Alps.

determined to relieve him, but not, as he had advanced before, by way of the coast. Sending Moreau with an army into Germany to cover his rear, he himself collected his forces at Geneva and descended the Alps by way of the Great St. Bernard Pass. His careful foresight resulted in a journey with little loss; the men received full rations all the way, and the guns were safely transported over the precipitous road by removing them from their carriages and enclosing them in the trunks of pines, which could be easily pulled along.

The object of the campaign was to fall on the Austrians, investing Genoa, from behind, and thus cut off their communication with Vienna. It succeeded admirably, but that the invaders came too late to relieve the besieged town, which Massena, with a force emaciated by hunger and disease, was forced to surrender in June, 1800.

The battle of Marengo, June, 1800. Mélas, the Austrian commander-in-chief, then turned hastily to meet the First Consul, of whose movements he had only just learnt. An engagement took place at Marengo, near Alessandria, where the French were almost defeated owing to the superior numbers of the opposing force. A division under Desaix, which had been dispatched by Napoleon in the direction of Genoa, appeared, however, in time to turn the fortunes of the day. A brilliant charge into the enemy's flank, which was worn out by its exertions and demoralized by its almost certain hope of victory, resulted in a complete overthrow of the Austrians. Mélas then agreed, by the Convention of Alessandria, to surrender all Italy west of the Mincio, and to withdraw the Austrian garrisons within that area.

The Convention of Alessandria.

Napoleon did not wait to see these terms carried out, but, leaving Macdonald in command, he returned to

France to receive renewed plaudits as the general who had conquered Italy in one battle.

The results of Moreau's expedition into Germany were no less brilliant, and by the winter of 1800 he had pushed far into Bavaria. An Austrian army was sent against him under the Archduke John, a youth of eighteen, and Moreau enticed this young commander into the forest of Hohenlinden, where his own movements were hidden. The battle began on December 3 in the snow-covered roads which traversed the woods, where the French fell upon the enemy from all sides and completely defeated them.

By the end of the month Moreau was within sixty-five miles of Vienna, nor was his army the only invading force: Macdonald appeared from the Tyrol after crossing the Splügen Pass, and another French army appeared from the Venetian territory of the Friuli. Francis II was compelled to come to terms, and on February 9, 1801, agreed to the Treaty of Lunéville. This reiterated much of the previous Treaty of Campo Formio. It left Austria with Venice, and France with the rest of North Italy and Germany on her side of the Rhine. Tuscany was taken from its Habsburg Grand Duke and given to a Spanish protégé, the Prince of Parma.

At Lunéville the Holy Roman Empire received its death warrant, for its Emperor agreed to barter away a portion of its territory and to sanction foreign interference with the rest. A clause provided that German rulers dispossessed by France should be compensated with lands east of the Rhine, and that these grants must receive the sanction of the Consulate. This meant the reconstitution of Germany according to French ideas.

By the Diet of Ratisbon of 1803, which defined this reconstitution, the majority of the ecclesiastical prin- The Diet of Ratis-
bon, Feb., 1803.

palities were 'secularized'; that is to say, given to lay rulers, while all but six of the independent towns were absorbed by neighbouring potentates. Under the guiding hand of Napoleon, states were built up which he hoped would look to him to preserve them from the greed of Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The main result of the Treaty of Lunéville was to weaken Austrian influence in Western Europe, since the ecclesiastical rulers, who had always been the ardent supporters of the Habsburgs, were transformed into merely state-paid clergy. On the other hand, Prussian influence had not increased, for Napoleon would not let Frederick William interfere in Southern Germany, as he fully intended that his authority should be undisputed there.

At first sight it seems extraordinary that Germans should calmly acquiesce in the settlement made at Ratisbon, but it must be remembered that Germany then was no more than Italy a nation. Bavarians, Hanoverians, and Rhinelanders had little in common; they were incapable of the patriotic enthusiasm of French conscripts, not from any lack of bravery, but because they had not yet developed the motive force of a love of their Fatherland. Their rulers reproduced in miniature the grasping characteristics of Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns. Where Francis II or Frederick William III would be willing to barter his pride for a province or district, a minor German Prince would humble himself at the foreign office in Paris to gain an extra acre for his patrimony. It is an unpleasing picture, but it was from this atmosphere of corruption and degradation that a German national life was to finally emerge.

It has been shown how the First Consul dealt with one member of the Coalition ranged against him. England presented more difficulties, through the superiority of her

fleet; and by the spring of 1801 she had proved herself also a rival of some distinction on land, for her armies had destroyed the French power in Egypt. Kleber, whom Napoleon had left in command when he returned to France, had destroyed a Turkish army at Heliopolis, ^{Battle of Heliopolis,} but soon after he was assassinated by a Moorish fanatic. ^{March, 1800.} His successor Menou was a man of far less ability, and when an English force under Sir Ralph Abercromby landed at Aboukir to aid the Turks, the French were defeated in the battle of Alexandria. His failure to obtain relief from the home Government soon forced Menou to ^{Battle of Alexandria,} surrender both Alexandria and Cairo and to agree to the ^{March, 1801.} evacuation of Egypt, which was restored to the Porte.

The First Consul had thus a heavy score against the ^{§ 8.} British Government, and he hoped to repay it through ^{Friendship of Paul I and Napoleon.} Russia, whom he had skilfully detached from the Coalition. Paul I had developed a deep personal admiration for Napoleon; and his hatred of France had changed into a dislike of England. The cause of this was his desire to possess Malta, which England would not surrender; Napoleon promised that he should have Malta at the first opportunity.

In December, 1800, the Tsar formed a league with ^{The Armed Neutrality of Dec., 1800.} Sweden and Denmark to prevent the English from searching their vessels for contraband. This armed neutrality was practically a declaration of war, and the Baltic was closed to British ships. An English fleet was at once dispatched under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command, to run the blockade, and it forced its way into the Sound, under the fire of the Danish guns from the mainland, and bombarded Copenhagen. ^{The battle of Copenhagen, April, 1801.} The engagement was very fierce, for the Danes, unlike the French and Spaniards, were a race of seamen, descendants of the old Norse pirates. At one time

Sir Hyde Parker, who was with the reserve, signalled a recall, but Nelson refused to see it, and the battle of Copenhagen ended in an English victory. The loss on both sides was heavy, and a truce was agreed upon, which the news of the Tsar's death changed into a permanent peace. On March 23, 1801, Paul I had been assassinated in his palace. The cause of the murder had been the fear which his ungovernable rage and capricious moods inspired in every one with whom he came in contact.

Assassination of
Paul I,
March,
1801.

Alex-
ander I.

§ 9.
France and
Portugal.

The Treaty
of Badajos,
June, 1801.

His eldest son, Alexander I, succeeded to the throne, and at once reversed the foreign policy of the last reign. It was evident to Russian statesmen that their land would be ruined if its commerce with England were destroyed, and thus the Armed Neutrality came to an end. With regard to Portugal, whom France had also tried to detach from an English alliance, Napoleon was little more successful. In the beginning of 1800, a Spanish army assisted by French troops overran part of her land, and this acquisition was acknowledged in the subsequent Treaty of Badajos; but Portugal refused to close her ports to Great Britain, on whose commerce her prosperity almost entirely depended. France and England were by this time weary of war, and the English Government really anxious for peace. If she could safeguard her own interests, she saw no reason why she should continue the struggle on behalf of European powers unable to help themselves, and was ready to allow Holland and Italy to remain as French dependencies.

Napoleon, on the other hand, was personally desirous of continuing the war, which his self-ambition depicted as ever bringing him fresh glory; yet he knew a peace would at this time be more welcomed amongst his subjects than the laurels of a hundred campaigns.

Pitt had resigned office in the early months of 1800 owing to his inability to pass some acts to which he was pledged in favour of Irish Roman Catholics. The Addington Ministry then came into office, and in March, ^{§ 10.} The 1802, signed the Peace of Amiens with France. It is ^{Peace of Amiens,} unnecessary to enter into the terms of the peace, for ^{March,} ^{1802.} one of the parties concerned had no intention of keeping them. The First Consul merely hoped for a breathing space in which to draw up fresh plans for the overthrow of the enemy he felt the greatest bar to his hopes of a world-wide sovereignty.

The period of peace was occupied by Bonaparte in ^{§ 11.} consolidating his power at home and abroad. In May, ^{Napoleon is made} 1802, it was suggested in the French legislature that ^{First Con-} he should be made First Consul for life instead of ^{Aug., 1802.} ^{suil for life,} merely for the ten years laid down by the constitution, and the motion was put to the popular vote. There is no greater proof of the efficiency of the Government than the enthusiastic assent given to this proposal. Napoleon then proceeded to take further steps to centralize the administration of the country in his own hands. Prefects and Sub-Prefects appointed by him were placed over the Departments and smaller districts, and the Mayors of the Municipalities received their office from the same source.

With regard to the Church, though not religious him- ^{§ 12.} self, Bonaparte realized the power of Catholicism in ^{Napoleon and the} France, and this had led him to treat the Pope with ^{French} invariable courtesy. On the death of Pius VI he showed himself ready to recognize the new Pope Pius VII, although the latter had been chosen at a conclave in Venice under Austrian protection.

In April, 1802, a Concordat signed between the Con- ^{A Con-} sulate and the Pope was published in France. By it ^{cordat is} signed

between
Napoleon
and the
Pope.

§ 13. Reor-
ganization
of the
Batavian
Republic.
June, 1802.

§ 14.
Napoleon
becomes
President
of the
Cisalpine
Republic,
June, 1802.

§ 15.
Napoleon
becomes
'Mediator'
in the
affairs of
Switzer-
land, Feb.
1803.

Catholicism was recognized as the faith of the majority of Frenchmen, and was therefore acknowledged as the State religion, though there was to be toleration for other creeds. The authority of Rome was accepted in spiritual matters, but the First Consul reserved to the Government the right to appoint bishops and curés to their dioceses and livings, subject to Papal approval. He had thus established another firm hold upon the national life. Foreign affairs also claimed his attention, for it was obvious that the change from the Directory to the Consulate at home must involve alterations in the government of dependencies such as Holland and Italy. The Batavian Republic was provided with a president who held office for three months, and a council that only met for a few days in the year, and it was in this way deprived of any chances of independent action.

The representatives of the Cisalpine Republic were summoned to Lyons, ostensibly to draw up the draft of a new constitution, in reality to agree to the scheme laid before them by Talleyrand, the French foreign minister. They acted on the orders given them, and humbly asked Bonaparte to become their president, which he graciously consented to do, and he thus made himself absolute in North Italy.

In the case of Switzerland his conduct was as successful as it was clever. One of his first actions as Consul had been to withdraw the unpopular French troops; and this, as he expected, resulted in a civil war amongst the Cantons, in which the lately established Helvetic Republic was overthrown. Bonaparte, who had been awaiting this *dénouement*, intervened in February, 1802, and claimed to be 'Mediator' in the affairs of Switzerland. He then established a new constitution,

with a supreme magistrate, who was his paid servant, and the country became as dependent on France as North Italy or Holland.

England had been watching the growth of the First Consul's power with increasing uneasiness, which was intensified by the reconstitution of Germany after the Diet of Ratisbon. It only needed the annexation of Piedmont and Elba to the Republic to show her how hollow the Peace of Amiens had been. The English papers began to openly vilify Napoleon, who in hot anger demanded the punishment of the journalists by their Government. He had established a firm hold over the Parisian press, and he would not be convinced that within certain limits a British subject might write what he chose, and he was pleased to consider himself directly insulted by the nation as a whole.

An occasion to renew hostilities was found in the refusal of England to cede Malta, and war broke out once more in May, 1802. Feeling that his navy was not yet fitted to attack the British fleet, the First Consul marched an army into North Germany and annexed Hanover, which belonged to George III as an imperial Elector. Such an act of aggression contravened the terms of the Treaty of Basle, in which France had promised Prussia to consider North Germany as neutral ground, and England demanded Prussian interference on her behalf. Frederick William III had succeeded his father in 1797: he was a man of good character, but small abilities, and had maintained a policy of strict neutrality in foreign affairs. He satisfied his conscience with a protest that Napoleon entirely disregarded, and for two years Hanover remained under French rule.

The First Consul was at this time about to complete the consolidation of his power at home. Several attempts

Napoleon annexes Piedmont and Elba to France, Oct.-Sept. 1802.

Renewed war between England and France, 1803-1815. Napoleon annexes Hanover, June, 1803.

Attitude of Frederick William III towards the question of Hanover.

§ 18. The plot of Georges Cadoudal, Feb., 1804. had been made on his life, of which the most important was the plot of Georges Cadoudal in 1804. Cadoudal had been a leader in the late Vendéan revolts, and had finally joined with Pichegru and the royalists in an effort to murder the First Consul, but the conspiracy was discovered by the Parisian police, and the leaders were seized and put to death. Moreau, the victor of Hohenlinden, was also implicated and banished.

§ 19. The murder of the Duc d'Enghien, March, 1804. Napoleon then took a step which horrified Europe but increased his popularity at home with his more republican subjects. French soldiers crossed the German border and seized the young Duc d'Enghien, a son of the Bourbon Prince of Condé, who had organized the army of the *émigrés*. The Duke was on neutral ground and was in no way concerned in Cadoudal's plot, but he was taken to the prison of Vincennes in the outskirts of Paris, tried by a midnight court-martial, and condemned to death. In the early hours of the morning he was shot and buried in a grave which had been prepared previously to his trial. There was never a more deliberate and unnecessary murder committed, but it served to convince France that Napoleon would not restore the Bourbons, and to give the rest of Europe a more definite idea of his character. Two months after the death of the Duc d'Enghien, Bonaparte dropped all pretence at democratic sentiment and assumed the title of Emperor of the French, and so great was his popularity and his power that Carnot and a few other staunch republicans alone dared to protest.

§ 20. Napoleon becomes Emperor, May, 1804.

The excuse given was the need for an hereditary succession shown by the attempts on the First Consul's life. Napoleon had, shortly before his first Italian campaign, married a woman some years older than himself, a beautiful Creole, Joséphine de Beauharnais. They had

no children, but it was considered that Bonaparte might adopt as his heir one of his four brothers, Joseph, Lucien, Louis, or Jérôme, or else his wife's son by a previous marriage, Eugène de Beauharnais. The idea of his own divorce was also suggested, but at this time Bonaparte would not hear of it. 'How could I divorce this good wife because I am becoming great?' he asked. Later events were to show that his ambition might not demand this sacrifice in vain.

On the 2nd of December the coronation of Napoleon took place, rivalling the pageantry of Bourbon times in its pomp and magnificence. The solemnity of the occasion was enhanced by the presence of Pius VII, who came, however, rather to grace the triumph than to share in it, as he had hoped. The new Emperor, in his arrogance and self-confidence, crowned himself, and thus expressed his belief that his glory came not of divine or hereditary right but as the offspring of his own genius. With significant publicity he received into his hands the sword of Charlemagne, the emblem of the days when France had ruled the greater part of Europe.

The creation of the Empire was followed by a distribution of honours to the chief of Bonaparte's adherents, and many a republican who had boasted that *citoyen* was the only title for the disciples of Rousseau's doctrines, found himself a Count or a Duke, bowing in the antechamber of his sovereign before Madame Mère, Napoleon's mother, and the Princes and Princesses, his brothers and sisters.

The most important members of the new Court were the Dignitaries of the Empire, such as the Grand Elector, Joseph Bonaparte, who was to summon the Legislative Assemblies, and the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, one of the late Consuls. Then came the officers of the

The Question of the Imperial Succession.

The coronation of Napoleon, Dec., 1804.

The distribution of imperial honours.

The Dignitaries of the Empire.

The
imperial
household.

Emperor's household, such as the Grand Almoner, Napoleon's uncle Cardinal Fesch, and the Grand Chamberlain Talleyrand.

Napoleon's
popularity
with the
army.

The army also was not neglected, for the Emperor knew that it was on it that his real power rested, and he hoped that those who had shared his many military triumphs might be bought with a judicious recognition of their merits. When he had been made First Consul for life he had instituted the Order of the Legion of Honour, which was bestowed on men of distinction either in the army or in one of the civil professions. Now he created the leading generals Marshals of the Empire, and recompensed their services with titles and revenues derived from foreign conquests. His efforts, except in the case of a few ardent republicans, met with success; for both the officers and men of the army were devoted to a commander who seemed almost invincible, and they were as ready to shout *Vive l'Empereur!* as *Vive la République!*

The nation
and the
Empire.

The nation, too, acquiesced in the change, for she was dazzled by the glories of the Consulate and by the internal quiet she enjoyed. It was the first stable Government since 1789, and to France the establishment of a hereditary Empire implied its continuance. To Napoleon himself the imperial crown expressed the fulfilment of his ambitions. He was supreme in France, and there only remained the task of making his authority recognized abroad.

§ 21.
Napoleon
becomes
King of
Italy, May,
1805.

In May, 1805, he created North Italy into a kingdom and received the iron crown of Lombardy, sending his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, to act as his viceroy and superintend the Government.

The days that saw the birth of a new Empire witnessed the death of an old. A week after Napoleon's coronation

at Paris, Francis II discarded the now empty title which § 22.
the rulers of mediaeval Europe had striven to gain, and Francis II becomes
declared himself Emperor henceforth of the hereditary Emperor
dominions of Austria. Thus the Holy Roman Empire, of Austria,
which had been doomed at Campo Formio and Luné-
ville, finally disappeared.

CHAPTER XII

THE WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION

§ 1. The proposed invasion of England. § 2. The battle of Trafalgar. § 3. The Third Coalition. § 4. Napoleon invades Germany. § 5. The battle of Austerlitz. § 6. The Treaty of Presburg. § 7. The Confederation of the Rhine. § 8. Conduct of Frederick William III during the war. § 9. The death of Pitt. § 10. The campaign of Jena. § 11. The Berlin Decrees. § 12. The campaign against Russia. § 13. The Treaty of Tilsit. § 14. The Conference of Erfurt. § 15. Russia and Sweden. § 16. Russia and Turkey.

§ 1. The proposed invasion of England, 1804-5.

WHEN Napoleon had been merely general of the Army of the Interior, under the command of the Directory, he had declined to embark on an invasion of England; but his accession to the Empire changed his views. Even with the aid of Spanish and Dutch fleets he recognized that he could not gain a permanent supremacy of the sea; but he believed that if he could clear the Channel of British ships for twenty-four hours, during which time his transports might effect a crossing, that the downfall of his rival would be assured. French arms had been almost invincible on the Continent, and he could reason that they had been merely defeated in Egypt through insufficient numbers. England, on the other hand, had been unsuccessful on land as she had been victorious by sea. The Duke of York had been forced to evacuate Holland, and an attempt to regain Hanover had ended in a failure. As Napoleon stood upon the northern cliffs, and saw in the distance the shores of England faintly outlined, he exclaimed, 'It is a ditch that could be leapt if one were but bold enough to try it!'

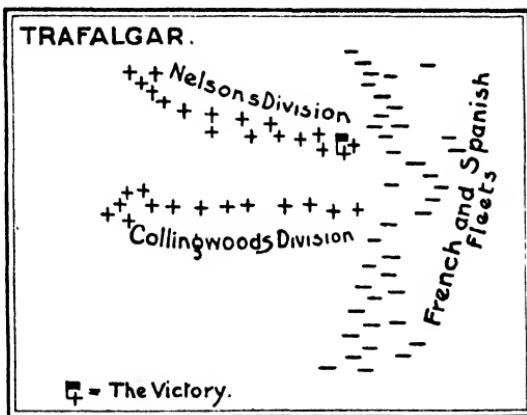
Throughout the spring and summer of 1805, vast preparations were made at Boulogne for the invasion on which he had now determined, and a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats was collected to convey the troops to the other side. The soldiers selected for the expedition were the pick of the French forces, the veterans of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and from their numbers and reputation they received the name of the Grand Army.

The next thing was to secure the command of the Channel, for the flat-bottomed boats were unwieldy and little suited to protect themselves. After considering several plans, and discarding them in turn, the Emperor at last adopted an elaborate scheme. One French fleet, under Villeneuve, was at that time blockaded in Toulon by Nelson, while English squadrons also watched Brest, Rochefort, and the Spanish harbour of Ferrol. Villeneuve received orders to elude Nelson, and sail for the West Indies, as if with the object of attacking the British colonies there, and it was hoped that this feint would draw the English admiral after him. The French, having decoyed the enemy into these distant waters, were then to recross the Atlantic, raise the blockades of the other harbours, and sail with combined fleets for the Channel, where they would act as a convoy for the Boulogne flotilla.

Up to a certain point this plan met with admirable success. Villeneuve escaped from Toulon, and drew his watchful foe after him to the West Indies; but Nelson received intimation of his immediate return to Europe, and was able to warn the Government at home. In fact, the first Napoleon heard of his admiral's movements was from an English newspaper. When Villeneuve appeared to relieve the Spanish fleet, he found an English squadron, under Sir Robert Calder, prepared to meet

him, and after a slight engagement was forced to put into Ferrol. Peremptory orders from Bonaparte to repair to Boulogne made him once more attempt to sail northwards ; but a second repulse drove him into Cadiz. His ill-success ruined the chances of the flotilla waiting to cross the Channel ; and the idea of the invasion was finally given up.

§ 2. The battle of Trafalgar, Oct., 1805. Three months later Nelson returned from the West Indies, and appeared before Cadiz determined to lure the enemy from their harbour, and absolutely to annihilate



the combined fleets. Villeneuve, whose crews were suffering from starvation and disease, as a result of the blockade, and who feared Napoleon meant to replace him by an abler man, made up his mind to once more hazard the journey to Boulogne. He therefore forced his way out of the harbour at the head of the combined Spanish and French squadrons ; but just off Cape Trafalgar the English fleet under Nelson, with Collingwood as second in command, appeared in sight, and a battle became inevitable. The result was one of the most glorious victories in the annals of English history. The presence of Nelson

inspired his sailors with indomitable courage, while it sapped the enthusiasm of his foes; for the name of the British admiral was as formidable on the ocean as that of Napoleon on land. Villeneuve waited for the attack with his fleet arranged in the shape of a rather irregular crescent, its horns pointing towards the enemy. The Spanish and French vessels were intermingled, for the loyalty of the former was considered doubtful.

The English fleet advanced in two divisions, the men's patriotism stirred to white-heat by the famous signal, 'England expects that every man will do his duty!' Driving straight ahead, it cut the enemy's line into three divisions, and in the ensuing engagement twenty of the French and Spanish ships were captured or sunk.

When the battle was almost over, Nelson himself was struck down as he stood on the deck of the *Victory*, directing the operations. He lived to hear that the battle was completely gained, then, with the words 'God and my country!' on his lips, he passed away. So greatly was he beloved by his fellow-countrymen that the news of Trafalgar aroused sorrow rather than joy. Yet the importance of Trafalgar. results of the victory were overwhelming. It was not merely that a French and Spanish fleet were destroyed, but that the supremacy of the sea was secured to England for many years to come. Napoleon must find another way in which to strike his foe. He received tidings of the disaster in a characteristic manner: 'I cannot be everywhere,' he said gloomily, as if certain his presence would have changed the fortunes of the day.

The failure of the Boulogne flotilla enabled the Emperor ^{§ 3. The} to make use of the Grand Army in another quarter; for ^{Third} Coalition. the English had, with redoubled exertions, raised up a Third Coalition to oppose his power. The author of this new alliance was Pitt, who had been recalled to office in

1804. He found himself unable to shake the neutrality of Prussia; but Russia, Sweden, and Austria were ready to listen to his suggestions, though Gustavus IV could give little help while Frederick William III remained inactive.

Russia joins the Coalition.

Alexander I had been educated by La Harpe, a Swiss republican, and throughout his reign professed to be a disciple of the liberal doctrines he had learnt in his youth; yet he was an autocrat at heart, and personally admired Napoleon. In 1803 he agreed to guarantee with the First Consul the reconstitution of Germany; but was hurt that his opinion on the matter was so little asked, and soon perceived that he was merely a cat's-paw to secure the quiescence of Austria. He was therefore inclined to revenge himself on France, and showed his sentiments by ordering his Court into mourning on the murder of the Duc D'Enghien.

Austria joins the Coalition.

Francis II, encouraged by the hope of his friendship and the promise of liberal subsidies from England, had been reorganising his army; and hoped to wipe out the disgrace of Lunéville and Campo Formio. The excuse for an outbreak of hostilities was given by Bonaparte himself, who annexed the Ligurian Republic of Genoa to his Empire in 1805.

General Mack enters Bavaria.

In the autumn of the same year an Austrian army, under the self-confident Mack, entered Bavaria, whose Elector was known to be a secret ally of France. The object of the campaign was to hold the source of the Danube, and guard the entrance of the Black Forest through which the French usually advanced into Germany. At the same time another force, under the Archduke Charles, crossed the Alps and invaded Italy.

The Archduke Charles invades Italy.

§ 4. Napoleon invades Germany.

Napoleon, on hearing the news, broke up the camp at Boulogne, and, at the head of the Grand Army, marched into Germany, not through the Black Forest, but by way

of Würtemberg and Franconia. Repeating the manoeuvre which had led to the enemy's capitulation after Marengo, he forced his way between the Austrian army at Ulm and Vienna, their base of operations. In vain Mack endeavoured to cut through the encircling lines, and gave orders that none of his soldiers should say the word 'surrender'. His position was hopeless, and on October 17 he capitulated with 25,000 men. Nothing now hindered the victor from marching on his enemy's capital, and a month later Vienna, which had been so often threatened, fell into his hands. Francis II had, in the meanwhile, fled into Moravia, where a combined army of Russians and Austrians was stationed. Napoleon advanced to meet it, and the allies, spreading out their forces on the heights of Austerlitz, determined, on the strength of superior numbers, to surround and overwhelm the enemy. Before they could execute their plan, and while their columns were still extended over a wide area, the French charged where the line was weakest, and broke it in half. The allies failed to recover from this disaster ; they believed that their foes had been heavily reinforced : and though the Russians fought with their usual dogged courage, they could not withstand the brilliant cavalry charges of Murat and Soult. So complete was the French victory, that it was said of the retreating forces, 'There were no longer regiments ; there were only bands of marauders.'

' Soldiers,' said Napoleon after the battle, ' I am content. You have crowned your eagles with immortal fame. . . . It will be enough henceforth to say, " I was at Austerlitz," to win the answer, " This is a hero ! "'

The Austrians were now crushed ; for, though the Archduke Charles had gained a victory in Italy at Caldiero over Massena, he had retreated on hearing of the capitulation of Ulm.

The capitulation of Ulm, Oct., 1805.

§ 5. The battle of Austerlitz, Dec., 1805.

§ 6. The Treaty of Presburg, Dec., 1805. On December 26, 1805, Francis II agreed to the Treaty of Presburg. By this he ceded Venice and the Provinces of Istria and Dalmatia on the Adriatic to France, while the Tyrol was given to the Elector of Bavaria, who was raised to the rank of King. Austria by these terms was shut off both from Italy and the Rhine, and Napoleon achieved his purpose of making his power predominant in Western Germany. He was determined to secure the stability of this influence ; and, in 1806, he formed the Confederation of the Rhine. Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and many others of the Western States were bound together in a league which practically made them a French protectorate. They were to supply contingents to the imperial army, in return for a guarantee of their independence from Austrian or Prussian interference.

§ 7. The Confederation of the Rhine, July, 1806. § 8. Conduct of Frederick William III during the war. Napoleon now turned his attention to Frederick William III, whose protestations of neutrality he had good cause to doubt. That vacillating monarch had indeed been so angered by the passage of French troops through his territory without his leave, that in November, 1805, he had concluded a secret treaty with Russia and Austria. He then sent an ultimatum, which was practically a declaration of war, to the head-quarters of the Grand Army ; but the envoy reached the camp on the eve of Austerlitz, and waited to see the result. Napoleon's complete success caused him to hastily change the nature of his message, and to sign the preliminaries of a treaty with the conqueror. By this treaty Frederick William was forced to cede some of his territory, and to receive instead Hanover, which, though valuable in itself, was a doubtful joy, as its occupation would probably entail a war with England ; a result which the donor fully expected to follow.

The news of Austerlitz came to England as a shock § 9. The only second in gravity to the death of Nelson. 'Roll up ^{death of} Pitt, that map ; it will not be wanted these twenty years', Jan., 1806. said Pitt, pointing to the map of Europe. This was the third coalition he had engineered and subsidized ; and it was as great a failure as the other two. A month later he died of a broken heart, and was followed by mourning crowds to Westminster Abbey. The nation realized that the statesman who had passed away had stood by England in the hour of her deepest peril, and had been, in truth, as Canning described him, 'The pilot who weathered the storm.'

Pitt was succeeded in office by Fox, a politician who Fox had always upheld the French revolution, and who now ^{becomes} Foreign wished to come to terms with France. For a short time Minister. there was a hope of peace ; and Napoleon, calmly ignoring the fact that he had just ceded Hanover to Prussia, now offered to negotiate on the basis of its return, but Fox's death foiled his efforts. Frederick William had, however, learnt the Emperor's duplicity, and in October, § 10. The 1806, he haughtily commanded Napoleon to retire to the ^{campaign} of Jena. other side of the Rhine. This courageous attitude might have benefited the coalition a year earlier ; now it only served to hasten Prussia's ruin. The model army of Frederick the Great looked well on the parade ground, and filled the Queen and the young nobles of the Court with pride ; but, in reality, it was by this time very old-fashioned. It took six days to complete a move that the Grand Army could carry through in one. While it was progressing down the valley of the river Saale, the councils of its commanders still divided, the victor of Austerlitz fell on it at Jena, and completely defeated it. A second engagement with Marshal Davoust proved equally unsuccessful, and turned defeat into rout. Napoleon entered The battle of Jena, Oct., 1806.

Berlin as triumphantly as he had Vienna ; while Frederick William III fled to his Russian allies beyond the Vistula. Soon only Danzig of all his fortresses withstood the French advance.

§ 11. The Berlin Decrees, Nov., 1806.

Napoleon used his time at the Prussian capital in embarking on a new phase in his struggle with England. He had found he could not destroy his rival's navy ; but he hoped to utterly ruin her commerce. Her supremacy at sea checked any interference with her colonial trade ; but, if he could once obtain a firm hold over the greater part of the Continent and form an alliance with the rest, he believed he could stop British goods from entering it. This policy, which became known as the Continental System, was embodied in his Berlin Decrees of November, 1806. They forbade any country which was under French protection or in alliance with the Empire, from receiving, whether directly or through a third power, manufactured or raw produce coming from England or her colonies. All ships bearing English goods were to be liable to seizure by the French Government ; and no vessel which had touched at an English port might enter a continental harbour. Had it been possible to carry out these decrees as stringently as their author hoped, England, whose wealth depended so much on her commerce, would have undoubtedly been ruined. Time, however, showed that Napoleon's scheme was to be one of the chief causes of the decline of his own power.

§ 12. The campaign against Russia.

The overthrow of Prussia left the Tsar as the only formidable member of the Coalition. The Emperor, as soon as he had issued the Berlin Decrees, advanced to meet him ; and an announcement that he had come to restore the independence of Poland brought hundreds of the brave followers of Kosciuszko to his standard.

Alexander had been defeated at Austerlitz ; but he

had not, like Francis II, been entirely crushed ; and the battle of Eylau was one of the most critical in which the French had yet taken part. In the end the Russians retreated ; but the field had been dearly won at the cost of 25,000 men, mostly veterans of the Grand Army. In May Danzig at length surrendered, and, in the following month, the Russians were again defeated, this time decisively, at Friedland. The Tsar was now determined to come to terms, and he and Napoleon held a meeting on a raft moored at Tilsit on the river Niemen. The personal fascination of the Corsican was exerted to the uttermost, and achieved a complete conquest over Alexander's impressionable mind. Napoleon dazzled his companion with suggestions that they should found two Empires, a Latin and a Greek, which should sway the respective destinies of Eastern and Western Europe. To such a scheme he declared England was the only real enemy, and that they must combine to crush her.

In July, 1807, the Treaty of Tilsit was signed, by which France gained the Ionian Islands and Russian adherence to the Continental System ; while Alexander was advised to extend his territory at the expense of Sweden and the Danubian Provinces. A promise was also secretly made that the independence of Poland should not be restored. The Tsar would have obtained favourable terms for his Prussian ally, if it had been possible ; but Napoleon contemptuously refused. Frederick William III was deprived of his Rhenish and Westphalian Provinces, which were given, under the name of the kingdom of Westphalia, to Jerome, the youngest of the Bonaparte brothers. The acquisitions gained by Prussia, in the various Partition Treaties, were also taken away and formed into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with the King of Saxony as its Duke ;

§ 13. The Treaty of Tilsit.

Formation of the kingdom of Westphalia.

Formation of the Grand.

Duchy of Warsaw.

and Saxony and Westphalia were united to the Confederation of the Rhine. The creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was meant to be a compromise between contradictory promises made to Alexander and the Poles. It did not restore the ancient kingdom of Poland, but it gave part of that country as a Duchy to the House of Saxony, from which Polish kings had often been chosen in the days of the elective monarchy. This arrangement failed to satisfy either party, and the Tsar's admiration for his ally began to rapidly cool.

Importance of the Treaty of Tilsit.

§ 14. The Conference of Erfurt, Sept., 1808.

The Treaty of Tilsit marked the zenith of Napoleon's power; for though he afterwards extended the French frontiers, each further addition was a source of weakness rather than of strength. In 1808 the friendship formed at Tilsit was renewed at Erfurt amid every outward show of pomp and glory; but this time Alexander was not dazzled by his companion's flattery and promises. He had realized that Napoleon would not assist him to conquer Constantinople; and he disliked the Berlin Decrees, which formed the foundation of the alliance. Nevertheless, he did not wish to quarrel until he had carried out his schemes in the north and south of Europe; and the meeting closed with many protestations of friendship on either side.

§ 15. Russia and Sweden.

The invasion of Finland, Feb., 1808.

Gustavus IV abdicates, Nov., 1809.

Sweden had entered into almost every coalition against France; for Gustavus IV inherited his father's dislike of the people who had expelled the Bourbons; and he was now determined not to agree to the Continental System. Alexander, therefore, acting on Napoleon's advice in the Treaty of Tilsit, invaded Finland on the pretext of enforcing the Berlin Decrees, and French troops seized Swedish Pomerania. Just at this time Gustavus IV developed signs of insanity; and the English help which had been sent to him was withdrawn, while the Swedes

insisted on his abdication in favour of his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania. The new king, Charles XIII, had no heirs, and the question of the succession became very important. At length, in November, 1809, it was decided to elect as Prince Royal Bernadotte, a French marshal and a brother-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte, as it was hoped that this would appease Napoleon's anger.

Marshal
Bernadotte
is chosen
Prince
Royal of
Sweden.

The latter had nothing to openly allege against this choice, and, perforce, gave his consent ; but he was much displeased, for he knew Bernadotte was the kind of man who would put his own interests before those of his former master. For the moment, however, the matter assumed a favourable light ; for Sweden agreed to adhere to the Continental System, and England was deprived of another ally. Alexander, on his part, was left in occupation of Finland ; while the Turkish War, on which he had just embarked, brought him victories in another quarter.

The Ottoman power had, in the last few years, been considerably weakened by the assassination of two successive Sultans ; and the resulting confusion offered Russia a good excuse for interference. In May, 1807, Selim III had been deposed and murdered by Mustapha IV, who, little more than a year later, suffered the same fate at the hands of Mahmoud II. The latter ruler established himself firmly on the throne by slaying his brother and any near relations whom he thought likely to be dangerous ; but his energy proved of little avail in the Russo-Turkish War which broke out in 1809. Prince Bagration entered Turkey at the head of a Russian army, and soon conquered Wallachia and Moldavia ; then the Danube was crossed, and it seemed as if the dreams of Catherine II were to be realized, and that Constantinople would at length be rescued from the infidel.

§ 16. Rus-
sia and
Turkey.

The
Russo-
Turkish
War of
April,
1809.

The Treaty
of Bucha-
rest, May,
1812.

These hopes were dashed to the ground by the news that Napoleon was preparing to invade Russia, and Alexander, in 1812, hastily concluded the Treaty of Bucharest, by which he received a great part of the Province of Moldavia. The account of his struggle with his former ally must be left to another chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

§ 1. Practical difficulties of the Continental System. § 2. Holland is made into a kingdom. § 3. Naples is given to Joseph Bonaparte. 4. Napoleon's designs on Denmark. § 5. Napoleon's designs on Portugal. § 6. Napoleon's designs on Spain. § 7. The Spanish revolt. § 8. Napoleon goes to Spain. § 9. Renewed hostility of Europe towards France. § 10. The campaign of Wagram. § 11. The Treaty of Vienna. § 12. Marriage of Napoleon with Marie Louise of Austria. § 13. The English expedition to Walcheren. § 14. Condition of Prussia. § 15. The English Orders in Council. § 16. Holland is annexed to France. § 17. Annexation of the North German coast line. § 18. Napoleon and Pius VII. § 19. Failure of Napoleon's commercial policy.

‘THE sea must be subdued by land’ : such was the text from which Napoleon preached his doctrine of the Continental System. The difficulties of its practical application would have appalled a mind less bold or less sanguine than his ; for the Berlin Decrees, to be effective, would have to be accepted by the whole of Europe, from the Baltic to the Eastern Mediterranean. It is true that England did not possess any warm friends on the Continent, save Portugal ; for her aggressive attitude towards neutral vessels, and the feeble support which she had given to the various coalitions on land, had aroused general disgust ; but even her enemies were fain to regard her as a necessary evil.

§ 1. The practical difficulties of the Continental System.

Her complete supremacy over the sea had two very important results : in the first place, she was able to retaliate on the continental aggressions of France and her allies, by seizing their most valuable possessions

The British supremacy of the seas.

England's
colonial
expansion.

abroad ; in the second, she could secure almost an entire monopoly of the carrying trade ; for no alien merchant vessels were safe unless she chose. Before the Peace of Amiens, she had acquired most of the French West Indian islands, with Trinidad from Spain, and Ceylon, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch. The last possession was of especial value in the days when the main route to India was round the South African coast. In 1802, when temporary peace was established with France, many of her gains were restored to their former owners ; but, with the renewal of hostilities, they fell once more into British hands.

European
colonial
losses.

The rebel-
lion of San
Domingo.

The loss suffered by the continental powers was considerable ; and its seriousness may be seen in the case of San Domingo, one of the French West Indian islands. The spread of revolutionary ideas there had led the natives in 1791 to rebel against the white settlers ; and, ten years later, they had declared themselves independent. The attempts of the Home Government to restore order were frustrated by the English fleet, which intercepted French reinforcements ; and it was not till the Peace of Amiens that the revolt was quelled. The fresh outbreak of war in Europe resulted in another rising in San Domingo, which finally drove the settlers to evacuate the island ; and France was thus deprived of plantations from which she had received her chief supplies of coffee, sugar, and cotton.

English
trade indis-
pensable.

This is only one instance of a state of affairs chiefly detrimental to France, Spain, and Holland, the great colonizing powers, but which incidentally affected the whole of Europe. England could alone supply the continental markets with many of the most necessary raw products, such as sugar and coffee ; while the superiority of her machinery gave her a practical monopoly of

many manufactured goods, in especial of cotton fabrics. Napoleon, by his new commercial system, intended to boycott British trade. It was obvious that his efforts to do so would arouse the opposition of the greater part of Europe ; and, what was more serious, it would not be the opposition so much of the rulers, who could afford to pay a high price for prohibited articles, as of the middle and lower classes, whose material prosperity would be nearly ruined.

The Emperor was, however, little inclined to consider national feelings, and believed that he could attain his purpose if he persuaded the various Governments of Europe, either by force or by judicious bribery, to adhere to his system. By the secret terms of the Treaty of Tilsit the assent of Russia had been gained ; while Frederick William III was also made an unwilling accomplice.

In 1805, in order to keep a watchful eye over the Dutch, § 2. Holland is made into a kingdom, June, 1806. who were always inclined to resent interference where their pockets were concerned, Holland had been made into a kingdom for Louis, one of the Bonaparte brothers ; while the eldest, Joseph, was presented in the following year with Naples, from which the Bourbons were ejected. Both of the new rulers had strict orders to enforce the Continental System in their dominions.

The fall of the Neapolitan Bourbons had long been in the Emperor's mind ; for Ferdinand IV, ever since the re-establishment of his throne after the overthrow of the Parthenopean Republic, had never ceased to intrigue with the enemies of France. During the War of the Third Coalition, in spite of declared neutrality, an Anglo-Russian army had been allowed to land in the kingdom, and march northwards against Massena. It did not effect anything ; but Napoleon's anger was aroused, and at Presburg he vowed that Queen Caroline, whose influence

was paramount in Naples, should beg her bread through Europe. Joseph Bonaparte received orders to invade the kingdom, and Ferdinand and his wife and children were forced to take refuge in Sicily.

The battle of Maida, July, 1806.

In 1806 an attempt was made to restore the Bourbons, and an English force, under Sir John Stuart, crossed to the mainland and defeated the French at Maida; but, as reinforcements were sent to Joseph, the victors were compelled to retire once more into Sicily. They had done little in the peninsula itself; but the expedition had saved the island from a French attack.

Reforms of Joseph Bonaparte in Naples.

The new King of Naples was not a genius like the brother to whom he owed his throne: but he was a better ruler than his predecessors and quickly revolutionized a government that has been fitly described as 'the worst in Europe.' The Neapolitans were robbed of their independence; but, in the place of feudal privileges and official corruption, they received the Civil Code, which established equality before the law, and a system of taxation that honest administration deprived of its chief weight.

§ 4. Napoleon's designs on Denmark.

It is little wonder that the success he experienced in the formation of French dependencies deluded Napoleon into the belief that he could dominate the whole Continent, while at Tilsit he did not yet despair of gaining the mastery of the sea. The Spanish and Dutch navies were gone; but his supremacy in North Germany gave him the hope that he might yet make the maritime power of Denmark his slave. One of the most important of the secret terms of the Treaty of Tilsit had declared that 'the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon should be compelled to close their ports against the English, and declare war on England'. If any of them refused, they were to be treated as enemies by Russia and France.

It has already been shown how the clause was fulfilled in the case of Sweden ; and Napoleon now prepared to deal with Denmark in person, but only to find that he was forestalled ; for the secret terms of Tilsit had leaked out, and in 1807 the English Government demanded the surrender of the Danish navy into their hands. On an The English fleet
bombs
Copen-
hagen,
Sept., 1807. indignant refusal, they bombarded Copenhagen, and seized or sunk the entire fleet. This action was, of course, a direct violation of all the laws of neutrality ; and England has been blamed for her perfidy, both by contemporary and later critics : yet such a condemnation neglects to consider the character of the contest in which she was engaged. The Napoleonic wars were, for Great Britain, a life and death struggle with an implacable foe, who never hesitated to break a promise, or to ruin an ally, in order to gain his ends. It was well known at the Court of St. James that unless England seized the Danish fleet, France would undoubtedly do so ; and she could afford to run no risks where the question of naval supremacy was concerned.

Napoleon, foiled in his efforts in the north, was forced § 5. Na-
poleon's
designs on
Portugal. to turn his attention elsewhere ; and the next victim he selected was the Court of Lisbon, which persistently refused to accept the Berlin Decrees. Portugal was at that time governed by the mad Queen Maria I ; but her real ruler was the Prince Regent, Don John, who assured the French Emperor that he was willing to do everything that was required, except to close his ports to England, on whose commerce the national life depended. Napoleon only desired an excuse to expel the House of The Treaty
of Fon-
tainebleau,
Oct., 1807. Braganza ; and in October, 1807, he signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain, by which he and Charles IV agreed to divide Portugal. General Junot, who was known from his impetuosity as 'the Tempest', then

Junot invades Portugal.

The Braganzas sail for Brazil.

crossed the Pyrenees with a large army, and advanced on Lisbon. The royal family did not await his coming ; but, under the protection of a British fleet, embarked for Brazil, their chief colonial possession. The French commander entered the capital in triumph, and was not unfavourably received ; for the people were disgusted at the desertion of their rulers, and did not then know that, by the terms of the Treaty of Fontainbleau, their land was to be dismembered, and a part given to Spain. They therefore acquiesced in the French rule, and suffered contingents of their best fighting-men to be sent to swell the numbers of the Grand Army.

Portugal rises against the French.

A few months were sufficient to change friendship into enmity. The rule of Junot and the officials he placed over the provinces was harsh and despotic ; and, in 1808, risings took place throughout the country. The most serious was at Oporto, where an independent Government or Junta was set up, with the bishop of the diocese at its head.

She asks for English help.

The battle of Vimiero, Aug., 1808.

The Convention of Cintra.

§ 6. Napoleon's designs on Spain.

The policy of Count Godoy.

The Portuguese asked Great Britain for help, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was immediately sent with an army, which, in July, 1808, defeated Junot at Vimiero. The recall of Wellesley prevented this victory from being followed up ; and Sir Hew Dalrymple, who became commander-in-chief, agreed to the Convention of Cintra, by which Junot evacuated Portugal. Both the English and French generals were strongly censured by their respective Governments for the agreement they had made ; and Sir John Moore was dispatched to replace Dalrymple.

He found Spain also in a blaze of revolt, for Napoleon had taken advantage of the invasion of Portugal to overthrow the Court of Madrid : a project that had been in his mind for some years, though masked under the guise of friendship. Charles IV in 1807 was a very feeble old

man, almost an imbecile, and quite under the influence of his Queen and Count Godoy, an unscrupulous adventurer. Godoy was very unpopular; though, at the time of the Treaty of Basle, he had aroused transient enthusiasm, and received the high-sounding title of Prince of the Peace for negotiating terms with the French Republic.

His policy had brought his country little good, for Napoleon soon made the timeserver his tool. Spanish fleets were destroyed at St. Vincent and Cape Trafalgar, and the important colony of Louisiana was annexed by France, and then presented to the United States, in order to gain their help against England. When Godoy heard that the Emperor intended also to dispose of the Balearic Islands, even his indignation was aroused; and he summoned the nation to arm against a public enemy. The news of the Prussian overthrow at Jena led him to declare hastily that by the public enemy he of course meant the Emperor of Morocco; and Napoleon professed to believe him. He was only waiting his time to strike, for as long ago as 1805 he had remarked, 'A Bourbon on the throne of Spain is a very dangerous neighbour.'

In 1807, when Junot entered Portugal, French troops continued to pour over the Pyrenees, and established themselves in the Northern Provinces of Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia, behind the line of the Ebro. By trickery or force they gained possession of the principal fortresses of the district, of which the chief were St. Sebastian and Pampeluna. The news of this invasion threw the Court of Madrid, already disturbed by family strife, into the utmost confusion. Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the throne, had quarrelled with his parents, and, owing to the influence of Count Godoy, had been thrown into prison, from which, however, he was released on the report of the French advance. Owing to his opposition to an

French
troops
invade
Spain,
1807.

The
quarrels of
the Spanish
royal
family.

unpopular minister, he was regarded by the nation as a hero; and when his father and mother attempted to follow the example of the House of Braganza, and escape from Spain, they were stopped by their furious subjects

Abdication of Charles IV, 1808. at the small town of Aranjuez. Charles IV was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son, while Godoy was nearly killed by the mob; and, amid general rejoicings,

Ferdinand VII goes to France. Ferdinand VII entered Madrid. He found Murat, the French general, with a large army, already in possession of the capital, and was advised to go to France and ask the Emperor for the recognition of his new dignity. Unwilling to risk Napoleon's wrath by declining, he at length complied; but when he reached Bayonne, he found

The interview of Bayonne, 1808. himself a prisoner. A few days later he was confronted with his parents, who had also been enticed across the Pyrenees. An unedifying family dispute followed: Ferdinand maintained a sulky silence, while Charles IV declared his act of abdication had been forced, and that his son was a scoundrel. Napoleon stood by to act as arbiter; but his decision was little to the liking of any of the parties concerned. By a mixture of bribery and threats, he compelled both the Bourbons to renounce their claims, and named his brother Joseph King of Spain and the Indies, while Naples was given to Murat.

Joseph Bonaparte is declared king of Spain.

Coronation of Joseph Bonaparte, June, 1808.

In June, 1808, the new King was crowned at Bayonne in the presence of an Assembly of Notables, chiefly servile courtiers, who had accompanied Charles IV to France. The Emperor flattered himself he had obtained a new dependency without striking a blow; but his calculations for once were not well founded.

§ 7. The Spanish revolt.

Spain, as soon as the news spread, was in a flame of revolt; for though her power had declined since the Middle Ages, neither her pride nor her patriotism were extinct. What was more, instead of injuring his rival by

gaining a fresh adherent to the Continental System, Napoleon had opened up to England the markets of Brazil, now the home of the Braganzas, and of Spanish Mexico, which declined to recognize a monarch of the House of Bonaparte.

The Emperor refused to believe in the danger of the rebellion, and Joseph was duly installed at Madrid; not without a serious riot, in which many French officers were murdered and citizens shot. Armies were then sent out to put down the revolts in different parts of the country; but the self-confidence of the French received a rude shock. At Baylen in Andalusia General Dumont was surrounded by the Spaniards in July, 1808, and forced to surrender with over 15,000 men; a month later Junot was defeated at Vimiero; while in the north the inhabitants of Saragossa refused to yield even when breaches had been made in the walls, but continued the struggle from house to house till the besiegers were finally compelled to retire.

On the news of Baylen, Joseph and his supporters § 8. Napoleon retired from Madrid, and took up a position behind the Ebro; where they were joined by Napoleon himself with a large number of reinforcements. He was overcome with anger at the disastrous capitulation: 'They say there was no other way to save the lives of the soldiers,' he remarked; 'better, far better, to have died with arms in their hands. . . . You can always supply the place of soldiers. Honour alone, when once lost, can never be regained.'

His coming, however, as usual turned the tide of fortune, and the invading armies carried all before them. Victory had demoralized the patriots, who, instead of appointing a commander-in-chief and co-operating with Sir John Moore in Portugal, had spent the interval before the

The capitulation of Baylen, July, 1808.

The siege of Saragossa.

Napoleon goes to Spain, Oct., 1808.

campaign was renewed in squandering British subsidies on private needs, and in quarrelling over the appointment of local captains. The French found them unprepared, and advancing in great strength soon gained possession of the north-eastern and central provinces. In December Napoleon entered Madrid ; and prepared, as he said, 'to carry his eagles to the pillars of Hercules.' He would undoubtedly have done so but for the intervention of Sir John Moore, who quitted Portugal and marched into central Spain, as if to cut off the Emperor's communication with the capital.

Sir John Moore advances into Spain.

This was a very daring move on the part of the English commander, who had far too few troops to really face the Imperial army ; but it succeeded in its purpose. Napoleon was diverted from his southern campaign, and turned to chastise this new enemy, only to find that Moore retreated steadily before him. After following him for several days, the Emperor decided that the rebellion in Spain was practically quelled, and that the final settlement ought to be left to his subordinates. He therefore retired to France with many of his best troops, for he had received warning of an outbreak of war in Austria, which he felt he must deal with in person.

Napoleon quits Spain.

The battle of Corunna, Jan., 1809.

Soult, who was left in command, continued the pursuit through the hilly country of Galicia ; but he did not come up with the English until he reached Corunna, where they were preparing to embark. A battle ensued in which the French were repulsed, and the British troops sailed safely away ; but they left behind them their gallant general, who had been killed by a cannon-ball during the engagement.

Soult takes Oporto.

Napoleon's belief that the campaign would soon be over seemed likely to be verified. Soult seized Oporto, and only a small army, under Sir John Cradock, inter-

vened between him and Lisbon. In the south and west of Spain, the patriots were defeated as often as they met the enemy ; while in the north Saragossa at length fell after a siege so desperate that more than half her population perished. The doom of the peninsula appeared certain.

Meanwhile European affairs had assumed a somewhat threatening aspect ; for the capitulation of Baylen had been as disastrous to the military prestige of France as Napoleon feared. 'I do not see why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards', said the Prussian General Blücher ; and this was the secret thought of many on the Continent. For the first time throughout the long wars, French soldiers had laid down their arms ; and, what was even more striking, it had not been at the bidding of a highly organized force, but of peasant levies inspired only by devotion to their country. No after successes of the imperial army could quite obliterate the memory of the surrender.

Austria was the power now stirred to action ; for she had never been prepared to accept the humiliating treaty of Presburg as more than a truce, and the Spanish rebellion seemed to offer her a chance of revenge. Ever since the restoration of peace a steady attempt had been made to reform both the internal administration of the country and the army ; and, owing to the exertions of the minister, Count Stadion, in one department, and of the Archduke Charles in the other, many marked improvements had been made. A change, too, had come over the spirit of the Court since Francis II had discarded the fictitious glory of the Holy Roman Empire ; and there were signs of the dawn of a national life. Prussia, since Jena, was no longer regarded as a rival, but as a fellow victim of foreign oppression. 'Soldiers', said the Arch-

§ 9. Re-
newed hos-
tility of
Europe
towards
France.

Prepara-
tions for
war in
Austria.

duke Charles to his Austrian troops, 'your German brothers, who are now in the ranks of the enemy, wait for their deliverance.'

Attitudes
of Russia,
England,
and
Prussia.

In 1809 the time seemed ripe for action. Russia, since the Conference of Erfurt, was known to have grown somewhat apathetic to imperial blandishments; England had promised to create a diversion in the Netherlands in the case of a European campaign; Prussia was quiet under her yoke, but her silence was inspired by fear, not contentment, and at the first great disaster to the man who had enslaved her she would almost certainly turn against him. The French armies in Germany were small, and Napoleon himself was still in Spain.

§ 10. The
campaign
of Wa-
gram.

The Tyro-
lense revolt.

In April an Austrian army under the Archduke John entered Italy, while another under the Archduke Charles advanced against the two French forces at Augsburg and Ratisbon. In the Tyrol, a revolt broke out in favour of the Habsburgs; for the hardy mountaineers of that district had never ceased to murmur against the Treaty of Presburg, which took them from their old lords and gave them to the King of Bavaria, who respected neither their Catholic religion nor their ancient privileges.

The battle
of Eck-
mühl,
April,
1809.

Had the Austrians hastened to strike a decisive blow before the enemy were reinforced, North Germany would probably have risen to support them; but, before an engagement took place, Napoleon himself was on the scene of action. He at once advanced, and closing with the Archduke Charles defeated him in several battles, of which the most important was Eckmühl. He then pushed on and entered Vienna, while the Austrians, who had retreated before him, entrenched themselves on the opposite bank of the Danube. In May the French Emperor quitted the capital, and forced his way across the river about four miles down, near the island of Lobau.

He was repulsed at the village of Aspern, and had to withdraw his troops to the island ; and for the time it seemed as if his power was shaken.

He was, however, almost immediately reinforced by the army of Italy, which appeared under the Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais and General Macdonald, after routing the Archduke John. In July the Danube was once more crossed, and a battle took place round the village of Wagram, where, though the loss of life on either side was about equal, the Austrians were nevertheless decisively beaten. The Archduke Charles, July, 1809. The battle of Wagram, July, 1809. He was plunged into despair by his repeated failure, agreed to an armistice ; and in October the Treaty of Vienna was signed. The terms were even more galling than those exacted at Presburg. Francis II surrendered to the French Empire all the territory on the coast of the Adriatic that yet remained to him ; he gave up his Polish acquisition of Galicia to increase the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and he left the heroic Tyrolese to the mercy of their enemies.

In the following year he completed his humiliation by consenting to the marriage of his daughter, Marie Louise, with the man who had proved such an enemy to his house ; for Napoleon had at length allowed his ambitions to conquer his affection for Josephine, and had consented to divorce her, in the hopes of a union that would provide him with an heir.

On the field of Wagram the hopes of German liberation were, for a time, shattered. The English expedition, which was to strike Napoleon in the rear, did not land in Holland until three days after that decisive battle ; and then its actions were prompted by gross mismanagement and folly. Instead of marching straight on Antwerp, the invaders left that important city time to fortify itself,

while they levelled the walls of Flushing with the ground. Unable to proceed farther, they then retired to the island of Walcheren, a spot so unhealthy that Napoleon had forbidden a single soldier of his to be sent there. Over two thousand of the troops died of fever before the Home Government agreed to their recall; and thus the futile effort to assist Austria came to an inglorious end.

§ 14. Condition of Prussia.

The ministry of Stein, 1807-8.

Frederick William III had taken no part in the campaign of Wagram. Robbed of his Polish provinces, and of all his territory west of the Elbe, with French garrisons in the fortresses of the Oder, and the burden of an enormous indemnity laid upon his treasury, his power of resistance to the conqueror of Jena was, for the time, crushed. He could only submit in silence to see his trade crippled by the Continental System, and his army limited by a decree to 42,000 men. The words of Goethe, 'Shake your chains if you will . . . you will not break them,' were but the echo of his own convictions. Yet in Prussia, as in Austria, a love of freedom was developing amid ruin and disaster; and patriotic hopes were fed by a young generation of writers, of whom the chief was Fichte. Nor were there men lacking within the sphere of Government itself to assist the growth of national feeling. Stein, who became minister after the Treaty of Tilsit, showed himself great enough to learn a lesson from his enemies and attacked the old régime, which, in Prussia as in France, had divided the classes and made common interests an impossibility. Under his wise control serfdom disappeared, and privileges, hitherto enjoyed by the nobles with regard to land, were swept away. He would probably have gone further than this, but that Napoleon recognized in him a danger to his own authority, and insisted on his banishment in 1808.

Two years later another patriotic minister, Scharnhorst,

was also dismissed. This statesman had undertaken the reorganization of the army ; and though he dared not openly enrol more than 42,000 soldiers, yet in reality he cleverly evaded that limit. He established a system by which all the male population of Prussia were liable to military service, though only for a short period. After a few years they were drafted into a reserve force, which could be called upon if necessary in time of war, but which was not counted as part of the regular army.

Apart from demanding the dismissal of ministers who showed too great independence of mind, Napoleon did not concern himself much with Prussian affairs. His mind at this time was chiefly occupied with the enforcement of his Continental System. Early in 1807, England had retaliated on the Berlin Decrees by her Orders in Council, which forbade any trade with the ports of France or her allies ; and this defiance was met in turn by the Milan Decrees of the close of the same year, which repeated the prohibitions issued at the Prussian capital in an even more stringent manner. These paper declarations of commercial war were not carried out in the spirit in which they were passed. England could not afford wholly to lose her markets, nor Europe to be deprived of her produce and manufactures. Thus an extensive smuggling business was carried on, at which even France and her immediate allies were forced to connive.

Holland, whose prosperity depended on her commerce, was one of the chief offenders in this respect ; and Louis Bonaparte, who cared for the interests of his subjects more than for the ruin of England, refused to adopt harsh measures against them. In 1810 his brother forced him to abdicate, and divided his kingdom into Departments ; while, a few months later, he also annexed to France the coast-line of North Germany from Holland

Scharn-
horst re-
organizes
the army.

§ 15. The
English
Orders in
Council,
Jan., 1807.

The Milan
Decrees,
Dec., 1807.

§ 16. Hol-
land is
annexed to
France,
July, 1810.

§ 17. Annexation of the North German coast-line, Dec., 1810.

to the river Weser, and placed it under his own officials. This increase of territory would give him the control of the chief rivers flowing into the North Sea, as well as of important trading towns like Lübeck and Hamburg; and the seaports were soon filled with his custom-house officers, who received orders to burn any goods that might be suspected of coming from Great Britain or her colonies, even though found in neutral vessels.

§ 18. Napoleon and Pius VII.

The Emperor's conduct in the south of Europe was no less arbitrary. When the Tyrolese revolt had been suppressed and its gallant leader, Hofer, hunted down and shot, Napoleon proceeded to coerce the Pope, who had not been as compliant to his wishes as was expected. Pius VII refused to yield all his rights over the French episcopate; nor would he enforce the continental blockade. Instead, he demanded the evacuation of his fortress of Ancona, which had been occupied by the French; and even the entry of imperial troops into Rome failed to reduce him to obedience.

Pius is sent a prisoner to Fontainebleau, 1812.

The Illyrian Provinces.

§ 19. Failure of Napoleon's commercial policy.

An unbroken series of victories had made Napoleon more autocratic and obstinate than at the beginning of his career, and heedless of the anger of Catholic Europe, he commanded the Pope to be taken a prisoner to Fontainebleau. The States of the Church were annexed as Departments of France, and also Genoa and the kingdom of Etruria, which had previously been made out of the old Grand Duchy of Tuscany; and a 'Government of the Illyrian Provinces' was formed out of the lands on the northern and eastern shores of the Adriatic which had been ceded by Austria in the Treaties of Presburg and Vienna.

His policy, in thus adding his new acquisitions to France rather than to the kingdom of Italy, was prompted by his belief that he could not trust even his viceroy to carry out

his measures. Napoleon was in truth fighting a force too powerful even for his mighty genius. He was defying the spirit of progress, which had raised him to his throne. His first conquests owed their permanency chiefly to the fact that he offered his new subjects good laws for bad, and prosperity for poverty. These benefits he was now withdrawing, as his enforcement of the Continental System ruined trade, and his exactions of money and conscripts for his wars drained the exchequers of his dependencies, and diminished their population.

CHAPTER XIV

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

§ 1. The Internal Government of the Empire. § 2. Napoleon and Russia. 3. The invasion of Russia. § 4. The retreat from Moscow. § 5. The Peninsular War. § 6. Prussia deserts France. § 7. The first German campaign. § 8. The second German campaign. § 9. The first invasion of France. § 10. The second invasion of France.

§ 1. The Internal Government of the Empire.

AN almost uninterrupted succession of victories had made Napoleon the dominating figure within his Empire as without, and under his autocratic rule the few remaining shadows of independent government disappeared. The Senate degenerated into an assembly of servile courtiers ; the Tribunate was suppressed ; and the Council of State became a body of the Emperor's secretaries, who acted exactly as they were told or else were dismissed.

An elaborate system of spies and secret police enabled Napoleon to learn everything that happened at home even when he was encamped in Italy, Spain, or Germany, and nothing was too insignificant to escape his attention. From the question of the administration of the Civil Code to that of theatre licences, he interested himself in the internal affairs of France.

The Imperial University.

In 1811 the Imperial University, founded by his wish, was finally opened. The object of this institution was to educate, not students in our modern sense of the word, but professors and schoolmasters in the principles of the Government under which they lived, that they in their turn might inspire younger generations with patriotism and loyalty. As Napoleon once said, ' Unless they are

taught to be republicans or monarchists . . . and so forth, the State will never make a nation.'

The absolutism of the Government was obscured at first from the eyes of France by the glamour of military deeds ; but a time came when it was openly said in Paris, 'We have had enough glory.' Men began to argue that it was sufficient to have won the Rhine for a boundary, and that Frenchmen had no object to gain in robbing Prussia of her lands or in striving to place Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain.

In spite of the enormous indemnities exacted from vanquished foes, the burden of taxation was very heavy ; while even more serious was the drain on the manhood of France caused by the ever-increasing demands of conscription. 'I can use up 25,000 men a month', said Napoleon at one time ; and as campaign followed on campaign the place of hardy veterans was filled by boys under twenty fresh from their military colleges, or by raw peasant lads dragged from the plough. Devotion to the Emperor waned, as the feeling grew that these sacrifices were not made for France but to feed the ambitions of a Bonaparte.

These suspicions were enhanced by the growing pomp and ceremony of the Court and by the marriage of the Emperor with 'an Austrian woman'. The birth of an heir in 1811, which drew from the proud father the words 'now begins the epoch of my reign', awoke no corresponding enthusiasm in the nation. Ardent Catholics were offended by the title, King of Rome, given to the child, for it recalled the fact that the Holy City was now merely a seat of the Civil Government, and that the Holy Father was a prisoner at Fontainebleau.

In 1813 Napoleon issued a new Concordat, which he declared to have received the Papal signature, but Pius and the Pope.

persistently refused to acknowledge it and the schism in the Church increased.

The Continental System in France.

The economic conditions caused by the Continental System also tended to arouse dislike of the Government. It was little satisfaction to Frenchmen to know that prices had risen in England and that many enemies were out of work, when at home starvation was rife and trade almost at a standstill. Yet the Berlin and Milan Decrees gave a certain stimulus to industry and invention. Machinery was improved, and it was discovered that sugar could be made from beetroot and that chicory was a substitute for coffee. The majority of Frenchmen, however, preferred to supply their wants by smuggling, and Napoleon himself was forced to sell licences to merchants, permitting them to evade his own decrees, lest the imperial table should be deprived of its accustomed luxuries. It was the middle and lower classes, who could not afford to pay high prices, and who ran heavy risks for unlicensed smuggling, that really suffered from the commercial laws.

The Emperor refused to see the signs of national discontent ; he was still popular with the army, and he believed that, if the Continental System was rigidly enforced for a few years, England's trade must be completely ruined. He did not think the rebellion in Spain was serious, and the one cloud on the horizon of his ambitions was the unstable nature of his alliance with Russia.

§ 2. Napoleon and Russia.

The many promises made on either side at the Conference of Erfurt had been broken. Alexander had indeed sent an army to help France in the campaign of Wagram, but merely because he was at that time unprepared to openly quarrel with his ally. He had shown his real intentions by modifying the Decrees of the Continental System within his own dominions in such a manner that they were practically inoperative, for neutral vessels laden

with English goods were allowed to enter Russian ports. Napoleon, on his part, was quick to realize that a war with Russia was inevitable and did not attempt any further measures of conciliation. Instead, he deliberately angered Alexander by increasing the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, at the time of the Treaty of Vienna, by adding to it the Austrian Province of Galicia. He also annexed Oldenburg to the Empire in 1810, and as the Duke of this little State was an uncle of the Tsar his deposition was a direct insult to the House of Romanoff.

In 1812 Napoleon prepared to invade Russia, for he knew that Alexander was at that time at war with Turkey and he believed that he was still involved in the struggle with Sweden. In this he was wrong, for the Tsar had just signed the secret Treaty of Abo with Bernadotte, by which, in return for the cession of Finland, he agreed to seize Norway from Denmark and give it to the Prince Royal. Napoleon's fears of Bernadotte's duplicity were thus amply justified, for Denmark, ever since the English bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, had been a staunch ally of France, and to molest her was an act of defiance to the French Emperor.

The preparations for the conquest of Russia were on a far larger scale than for any previous campaign. In May, 1812, The 600,000 troops collected at Dresden to undertake the invasion, but only about half of this number were French. Of the others, many were enthusiastic Poles who believed the independence of their kingdom would follow from the war, while the majority came from states belonging to the Confederation of the Rhine. Armies were also provided, though most unwillingly, by Frederick William III and the Emperor of Austria. The former had been urged by his chief minister Hardenberg to declare war on France instead of giving her assistance, and this demand was

Annexation of Oldenburg to France, Dec., 1810.

Secret Treaty of Abo, April, 1812.

French army at Dresden.

Attitude of Prussia towards France.

The work
of Harden-
berg as
Prussian
minister.

echoed by the whole nation. Hardenberg had continued the work of the banished Stein. He had completed the freedom of the serfs and had made the nobles subject to taxation, but he overrated the strength of the new-born patriotism. Frederick William III recognized that Prussia was too weak to resist single-handed the victor of Jena, with the resources of his mighty Empire behind him, and no help could be expected from Russia. He therefore agreed to send a contingent of troops and to allow the French forces free passage through his land; and he went in person to Dresden to pay his respects to the Emperor.

The French
army
crosses the
Niemen,
June, 1812.

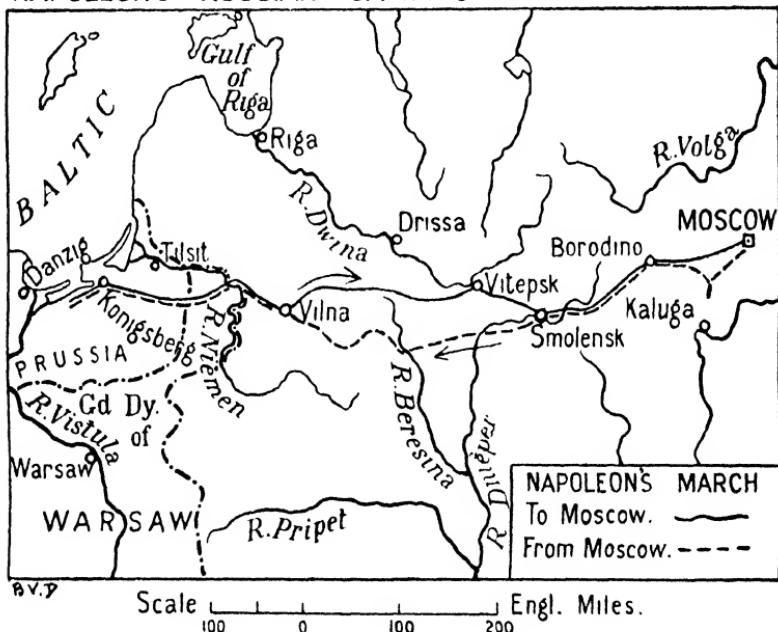
In June the mighty army crossed the river Niemen and advanced in three divisions. In the north was Marshal Macdonald at the head of a combined force of French, Prussians, and Poles. His orders were to march on Riga and St. Petersburg, and it was still hoped that he would be able to co-operate with Bernadotte and the Swedes. In the south was the Austrian army under Schwarzenberg, and in the centre Napoleon himself with the main body of the troops.

He had heard that the Russian forces were in two divisions, the larger under General Barclay de Tolly in an entrenched camp at Drissa protecting the road to St. Petersburg, and the other farther south under Prince Bagration. He therefore hoped to thrust himself rapidly in between these two armies and destroy them in detail before they could combine; but his plans were frustrated by the collapse of the transport service, which hindered his movements. Hitherto, acting on the theory that 'war must support war', the French troops had lived on the lands they invaded, but Napoleon realized that Russia was not like the fertile plains of Italy. He had therefore collected stores of provisions and clothing in the fortresses of the river Vistula, but there the greater

part of them remained. The Emperor had not foreseen the frightful difficulties of conveying these supplies across the Russian frontier ; thousands of horses perished from the roughness of the roads and from a disease caused by the rank grass which was their only fodder.

So long as the army remained in Polish territory it could find a certain amount of food, but once Russian

NAPOLEON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.



soil was reached, this source of maintenance was also cut off. On the approach of the invaders, whole villages migrated inland, firing their houses and destroying the food they could not carry with them. Thus the French as they advanced passed through a smoking desert.

Meanwhile Barclay de Tolly had decided to desert ^{The Russians re-} Drissa and retreat, and in August he and Bagration ^{treat.}

united forces at Smolensk. Napoleon came hard on their heels, having entered the town of Vitebsk the day after the enemy quitted it. He marched on to Smolensk to find that also deserted, and, leaving a large quantity of stores there, he again advanced towards Moscow.

It was his firm belief that Moscow, the old capital of Russia, was the heart of the Tsar's country, and that if he could once obtain possession of it he might dictate terms to his enemies as he had done at Vienna or Berlin. In this he was completely deceived, for each village throughout the length and breadth of Russia was a centre of hostility to the foreign invader, and the conquest of one or two did not mean the reduction of the whole land.

De Tolly wisely suggested that no battle should be fought but that Napoleon should be lured on, far from his stores and base of operations, until a worse enemy to armies than even fire and steel should be loosed upon him—the horrors of a Russian winter. This sound advice was overruled, for the indignation of the army at the idea of leaving Moscow, their Holy City, to its fate, could not be restrained. De Tolly was replaced by Kutusoff, and under his command the Russians turned and faced their foes at Borodino, 70 miles westward from the capital. The battle was the fiercest in which the French had yet taken part, but it left them in possession of the field, though they had suffered severe losses and the Russians had retreated in good order.

The battle
of Borodino,
Sept.,
1812.

Napoleon
enters
Moscow,
Sept.,
1812.

On September 14 Napoleon entered Moscow without opposition, but no trembling citizens came to offer him their homage; but for a few foreigners and some criminals just set free from imprisonment, the streets were deserted and the houses uninhabited. The French army, worn out with hunger and fatigue, fell with avidity on the stores that had been left by the Russians, and

their hopes were renewed. They were to be at once dashed to the ground ; for, soon after their entry, fires broke out all over the city, and after a few days the greater part of the town was in ruins. Napoleon and his staff escaped with difficulty from the Kremlin, and he realized at last the determination of his enemies, who were prepared to sacrifice even their loved Moscow to revenge themselves on him.

He would not at first make up his mind that he was beaten, but at length in the beginning of October, when his repeated proposals of peace met with no answer from St. Petersburg, and when the stores were almost exhausted, he began his retreat. It was his intention to turn south and reach Poland by way of Kaluga ; but he found his path barred by the Russians, now increased to a strength far beyond that of the French by the addition of the army from Turkey. Relentlessly Kutusoff forced his enemies back on the road by which they had come, and along whose course nothing but charred villages met the eye.

With November snow began to fall and the Russian winter descended. The retreat soon became a rout, with the semblance of order preserved only in the van, where Napoleon marched with his veteran Guards, and in the rear, where Ney, whose gallant conduct gained for him the title of 'bravest of the brave', beat off the repeated attacks of the Cossacks. The horrors of the march were indescribable : thousands died of cold and starvation by the way, and stragglers were cut off and murdered by the peasantry, while at Smolensk the stores left by Napoleon on his advance were found to have been destroyed.

Most ghastly of all was the crossing of the river Beresina, where the remnants of a once mighty army struggled in mad fear across two small bridges, beneath the fire of the Russian cannons. One of the bridges col-

§ 4. The retreat from Moscow, Oct., 1812.

Gallant conduct of Ney and the rear-guard.

The crossing of the Beresina, Nov., 1812.

Napoleon
goes to
Paris.

lapsed and those on it were hurled into the icy water, the greater number never to reach the bank. Napoleon himself quitted his army soon after and, accompanied only by a few of his staff, made his way to Paris, where he heard there was a conspiracy¹ to dethrone him. He declared his failure to have been entirely due to the severe winter and that he would be on the Niemen again within a month, but even his self-confidence could hardly have allowed him to believe this.

The rem-
nants of
the Grand
Army re-
cross the
Niemen,
Dec., 1812.

Murat, whom he left in command of the retreating forces, had not the same authority as his master, and the disorder and misery of the troops increased. On December 20 the last corps passed the Niemen, Ney and his rear-guard gallantly defending the bridge until all were on the other side. Of the Grand Army which had entered Russia in the spring, it is calculated that over 400,000 men were either dead or prisoners. Only the magic of Napoleon's name, which had kept Kutusoff from venturing on open battles, had saved the entire invading force from annihilation.

§ 5. The
Peninsular
War,
1809-13.

Sir Arthur
Wellesley
returns to
Portugal,
1809.

The Russian campaign was not the only disaster to French arms at this time; for the Emperor on his return was greeted with the news of the continued defeat of his forces in Spain. The English Government, on hearing of the battle of Corunna and the fate of Sir John Moore, had sent Sir Arthur Wellesley once more to Portugal with reinforcements, and with his arrival in 1809 a new stage in the Peninsular War began. Wellesley did not inspire affection in the same way as the 'Little Corporal',

¹ Malet, a general who had been imprisoned for his republican opinions, escaped on the night of October 23, and induced some soldiers to follow him by informing them that the Emperor had died before Moscow. He succeeded in arresting the Minister of Police and some lesser officials, but was recaptured and condemned to death. On the 30th of the month he and his accomplices were shot.

for he was a quiet, self-contained man, but it was said that 'the sight of his long nose on the day of a battle was worth more than 10,000 soldiers'.

He at once marched northwards and, having driven Wellesley Soult out of Oporto¹, he turned in the direction of Madrid in the hope of co-operating with the Spaniards. A combined force of Spanish and English defeated the French under Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Victor at The battle Talavera ; but Wellesley, whose troops had borne the brunt of the battle, realized that he could not put much trust in his allies, owing to their lack of organization and bad leadership; and he therefore retired into Portugal.

There, across the neck of the peninsula on which Lisbon stands, he built the famous fortifications of Torres Vedras, with a triple line of defence that made the capital impregnable. This great work took six months to accomplish, and was kept an absolute secret from the enemy. It was meant to provide a last resort against overwhelming numbers, since the English Government would not send sufficient forces to act on the offensive.

In 1810 Wellesley, who after the battle of Talavera had been created Viscount Wellington, was forced to retreat before a large French army under Massena, whom Napoleon now sent as his ablest general to subdue the peninsula. Massena was defeated at Busaco, and the English then retired on Torres Vedras to tire the invaders out. They thus adopted the same tactics as the Russians a few years later, for Wellington induced the Portuguese to desert their villages and take refuge in Lisbon. Massena, after remaining before the lines for some months, and having in vain commanded Soult to come to his aid, was forced to retreat with an army which had suffered

¹ See p. 190.

Battle of
Fuentes
d'Onoro,
May, 1811.

Battle of
Albuera,
May, 1811.

heavy losses from disease and famine. The English followed him and inflicted a severe defeat at Fuentes d'Onoro ; and a little over a week later, Soult, who up till then had been victorious in the south, was beaten at Albuera when trying to relieve Badajos, by Lord Beresford at the head of an English army.

These two battles, which took place in May, 1811, freed Massena is Portugal from the French, and Napoleon in anger recalled Massena and sent a younger man, Marmont, to take his place ; but the new commander met with little more success. There is a saying that 'No country recovers from disaster so quickly as Spain', and its truth was borne out by the campaign of 1812. Twice Spain had seemed crushed, once by Napoleon himself and again after Talavera ; but her patriots had merely retreated into the mountains, and they now descended once more to wage a guerilla warfare with their foes.

Battle of
Sala-
manca,
July, 1812.

At the moment when Napoleon was preparing to invade Russia, English armies stormed the fortresses of Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo, the keys of the Spanish frontier ; and in July Wellington defeated Marmont decisively at Salamanca, and a month later entered Madrid. The French armies were forced to evacuate the central and southern provinces, and soon found themselves much weakened by the departure of a great part of their numbers to assist in the Russian campaign.

Battle of
Vittoria,
June, 1813.

The English commander had hitherto been compelled to act chiefly on the defensive, but he now advanced boldly northwards. At Vittoria, beneath the Pyrenees, the French came to a stand, but only to be driven in rout across the mountains, with the loss of all their baggage and ammunition. San Sebastian and Pampeluna, the chief fortresses of the north, were captured after a struggle

with Soult, and by the autumn of 1813 Wellington was prepared to invade France.

Meanwhile, in North Germany, Frederick William III had been forced by his subjects to break the hated alliance with France. The Prussian troops under General York had formed part of the army commanded by Marshal Macdonald which had been ordered to march on St. Petersburg, and they were engaged in the siege of Riga when reports came of the disastrous retreat from Moscow. York, on hearing the news, signed a Convention with the Russians on his own authority, by which he agreed to desert the French, and this piece of treachery was received with loud applause by his countrymen.

§ 6. Prussia deserts France.

General York makes a Convention with Russia.

Stein, who had spent his exile chiefly at the Court of St. Petersburg, persuaded Alexander not to be content with merely ridding Russia of the French, but to carry the war into Western Europe. He then returned to Prussia and appealed to the nation to rise in arms and expel the foreigners. At his coming a wave of enthusiasm swept over the land, and from every class men offered themselves to serve in the army, saying that there was no need of conscription to raise the necessary numbers.

Stein encourages Prussia to oppose Napoleon.

Frederick William, conscious that a policy of caution was no longer possible, quitted Berlin and went to meet the Tsar, with whom in February, 1813, he signed the Treaty of Kalisch, and in the following month he declared war on France.

The Treaty of Kalisch, Feb., 1813.

The remnants of the Grand Army were now under the command of Eugène de Beauharnais, and had been joined by Macdonald with his Poles and Westphalians, but the combined forces were not strong enough to linger on the banks of the Vistula. Leaving garrisons in the chief Prussian fortresses, they were compelled to retreat

§ 7. The first German campaign. Bernadotte joins Prussia and Russia against France.

Battles of Lützen and Bautzen, May, 1813. The armistice of Pleswitz, June, 1813.

The Convention of Reichenbach, Aug., 1813.

behind the Elbe, where they found that Napoleon, undaunted by his reverses, had raised more conscripts and was again prepared to face his enemies. Frederick William III and Alexander had found a third ally in Bernadotte, who now entered North Germany at the head of a Swedish army, to help in the overthrow of his former master. He was joined by part of the Prussian and Russian forces, while the remainder were stationed farther south under Blücher and Barclay de Tolly.

Napoleon, in addition to his conscripts and the remains of the Grand Army, had still contingents from the Confederation of the Rhine, and his forces, apart from his generalship, were by no means to be despised. He therefore determined to act on the offensive and boldly invaded Saxony, defeating the allies in the two battles of Lützen and Bautzen, but his losses were sufficient to induce him to agree to the armistice of Pleswitz in June, 1813.

The period of truce was occupied by both parties in attempts to win over the Emperor of Austria, who had hitherto remained neutral. Napoleon was prepared to give him back the Illyrian Provinces on the Adriatic, but Francis II had an uneasy feeling that his son-in-law's promises were made to be broken, and he agreed instead to the secret Convention of Reichenbach with the allies. By this it was settled that Austria should offer certain specified terms to Napoleon, and that if these were refused she should join the Coalition. The proposals were not unfavourable to France, since they left her with the boundary of the Rhine, but Napoleon declined to consent to them, and the second campaign of the War of Liberation began.

Russia, Prussia, and Sweden were now joined by Austria and England, the latter promising large subsidies

to her confederates ; but the character of the struggle was ^{§ 8.} The changed. It had been Stein's idea to appeal to German ^{second} German patriotism throughout Central Europe, as in the case of campaign. Prussia ; but Metternich, the Austrian foreign minister, persuaded his master and the Tsar that this would encourage revolutionary sentiments, and might be dangerous to the various monarchical Governments. It was therefore settled that the war should be conducted on the lines of former coalitions and not as a great national movement.

The numbers which faced the French Emperor were overwhelmingly great, and though he won the battle of ^{The battle} Dresden, his subordinate generals were defeated, and one ^{of Dresden,} _{Aug., 1813.} of them even forced to capitulate at Kulm with a large body of troops.

In September, 1813, the allies signed the Treaty of ^{The Treaty} Töplitz, by which they agreed that the Confederation of ^{of Töplitz,} _{Sept., 1813.} the Rhine should be dissolved, and that the States of Southern and Western Germany should be granted complete independence. This brought over to their side the King of Bavaria, who had hitherto feared that in the case of Napoleon's fall he might be deposed, and several of the other rulers of the Confederation. A month later the decisive battle of Leipzig was fought, in which the French army was practically destroyed, and Napoleon with difficulty escaped beyond the Rhine, while his ally the King of Saxony was taken prisoner. His power was now completely shaken. Holland rose in revolt, and welcomed the Prince of Orange ; Murat hastened to desert his brother-in-law, and sent an army to attack Eugène de Beauharnais, the viceroy, in Italy, who, finding himself also opposed by an Austrian force from the Tyrol, was compelled to retreat.

In spite of these disasters Napoleon did not yet believe

that he was conquered. He had learnt that there was friction between the allies, and hoped that time would increase their differences and enable him to deal with his enemies separately. He therefore sent his foreign secretary, Calaincourt, to negotiate the terms of a peace, but gave him no power to conclude one.

The Proposals of Frankfort, Dec., 1813.

When it was suggested in the Proposals of Frankfort that the Rhine should remain the boundary of France, but Italy, Holland, and Spain receive their former sovereigns, Napoleon insisted that some fortresses should be left to him on the farther side of the Rhine, and the negotiations dragged on indefinitely. Russia and England soon became convinced that France must be restored to her original boundaries if Europe was to gain a lasting peace, and the British Government sent their foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh, in person to the head-quarters of the allies.

§ 9. The first invasion of France.

With the invasion of France the third campaign began. Schwarzenberg, at the head of Austrian and Russian troops, pushed through Switzerland and turned the Jura range. Blücher, with the Prussians and another Russian army, crossed the Rhine and advanced into Champagne. There he was met by Napoleon, who, finding his forces spread out, crushed them in detail with masterly rapidity ; then turned southwards and defeated Schwarzenberg, who at once prepared to evacuate France.

Napoleon defeats Blücher.

Napoleon was triumphant, and Calaincourt, who was still trying to negotiate terms at a Congress at Châtillon, was ordered to sign nothing. 'We have everything', said his master, 'to gain by delay.' The differences between the allies had been intensified by the failure of their generals, and only the determination of Alexander and the energy of Lord Castlereagh, who threatened to cut off British subsidies entirely unless the campaign were continued, kept the armies in the field.

The Congress of Châtillon, Feb.-March, 1814.

On the 1st of March, 1814, the Treaty of Chaumont was drawn up by the allies, stating what assistance the various powers were prepared to offer and binding them over to fulfil their promises, besides roughly defining a resettlement of Europe. Bernadotte was now ordered to send reinforcements to Blücher, for hitherto he had confined his share in the alliance to investing Hamburg, where a French garrison was stationed. He had found an occupation much more to his taste in attacking an ally of Napoleon, Frederick VI of Denmark, whom he compelled by the Peace of Kiel to cede Norway in return for Swedish Pomerania.

The allied armies, having been heavily reinforced, § 10. The advanced once more across the Rhine. They found Napoleon nearly at the end of his resources, for even the invasion had failed to raise the country in his favour: France was angry at his rejection of the various terms offered by the allies, and wished to make no further sacrifices for him.

‘I am the same man I was at Austerlitz and Jena’, exclaimed the Emperor; but he forgot that these victories were dimmed in the eyes of his subjects by the retreat from Moscow and the battle of Leipzig. His courage might be undaunted, but his best troops were closely besieged in Prussian fortresses, and but for his Old Guard he must rely on raw conscripts in whom even his recent successes had failed to inspire hope.

The new campaign opened with several indecisive battles, but the losses told more heavily on the French than on their enemies. Napoleon therefore determined to try and throw the allies into confusion by intercepting their communications with Germany, but they had received information of his reduced numbers and, leaving only a small force to oppose him, continued their march on

The Treaty
of Chau-
mont,
March,
1814.

The Peace
of Kiel,
1814.

Exhaustion
and indis-
ference of
France.

Battle of
Paris,
March,
1814.

Paris. There they found Marmont in command, but the garrison was too small to carry on the defence for any length of time and, after some hours' hard fighting, capitulated.

On the 30th of March the Tsar and the King of Prussia entered Paris, where they were received on the whole in gloomy silence, though a few shouts of *Vive Louis XVIII* were heard. The allies were anxious to propitiate the French nation, and to show that it was only against the Emperor that they had carried on war. When the Senate had declared Napoleon deposed, it then formed a Provisional Government, of which Talleyrand, who had been disgraced by the Emperor some years before, was made President.

A Pro-
visional
Govern-
ment is
formed,
April,
1814.

Napoleon was at Fontainebleau when he heard the news, and he angrily declared that he would march on Paris and drive out the enemy, but he soon realized that even the army he had with him would no longer follow him. Marmont, by his capitulation of the capital, had already come to terms with the allies, and Ney and Macdonald were anxious to do the same. Everybody was

Abdication
of Na-
poleon.
Provi-
sional
Treaty of
Paris,
April,
1814.

aware that the cause of the Emperor was lost. On April 6, 1814, Napoleon at length consented to abdicate, and nearly a week later in the Provisional Treaty of Paris he formally agreed to 'renounce his claims and those of his heirs on the thrones of France and Italy'. In return his wife was to receive the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and he himself the tiny kingdom of Elba with a fixed yearly revenue. He was also to be allowed to retain his title of Emperor and an army of several hundred of the Old Guard.

By the end of the month he had retired to the island, which the allied powers designed as a fitting prison for the man who had once ruled the greater part

of Europe. On the very day before the Treaty of Paris was signed, Wellington, who had invaded France and defeated Soult at Orthez, won the battle of Toulouse and forced his way into that city. The triumph of the allies was thus completed by the subjection of Southern France.

Battle of
Orthez,
Feb., 1814.

CHAPTER XV

THE HUNDRED DAYS

§ 1. The restoration of the Bourbons is suggested. § 2. The Declaration of St. Ouen. § 3. The First Treaty of Paris. § 4. The Congress of Vienna. § 5. The importance of the Congress of Vienna. § 6. Napoleon escapes from Elba. § 7. Napoleon lands in France. § 8. Napoleon enters Paris. § 9. The campaign of Waterloo. § 10. The Holy Alliance. § 11. The Second Treaty of Paris. § 12. The importance of Napoleon.

§ 1. The restoration of the Bourbons is suggested.

‘M. DE TALLEYRAND’, said the Tsar after his entry into Paris, ‘you know France, her needs and wishes. Say what shall be done and we will do it.’ It was thus left to one of the cleverest politicians of his day to initiate suggestions for the future government of his land. He at once declared that the Bourbons must be restored, and professed a strong though somewhat sudden belief in the doctrine of hereditary right; yet, though his sentiments rang false, they were not dictated from purely personal motives.

Talleyrand had witnessed every phase of government in France since 1789; and he was convinced that the country would accept quietly any ruler who would guarantee her a safe existence in the happy mean between anarchy and tyranny. Louis XVIII had now become less lofty in his ideas and was prepared, if he were allowed to return from exile, to behave as a constitutional monarch.

Alex-
ander I
proposes
Berna-
dotte.

Alexander I would have preferred to place Bernadotte on the throne, but the minister would not hear of it. The Bourbons appeared to him the only sure

guarantee of the integrity of French territory, for the protégé of one of the allied powers would almost certainly be forced to buy his crown from his patrons at the expense of his new kingdom. On the other hand, the enemies of the Revolution and the Empire had always boasted their disinterested sympathies for the brother of Louis XVI, and could hardly strike a bargain which would rob him of any of his restored dominions.

It was therefore settled that Louis XVIII should be summoned from England, where he had spent the latter part of his exile, and on May 3 he entered Paris. The new king was not the man to inspire much enthusiasm. Fat, gouty, and placid, he was ill-suited to be the hero of a national crisis, but he appeared ready enough to adopt the more humble rôle which Talleyrand had designed for him.

His entry into the capital was heralded by the Declaration of St. Ouen. This promised that there should be religious liberty and freedom of the press; that the Government should be representative and should have control over taxation; and that the lands which had been confiscated and sold during the revolution should not be restored to their former owners. This last clause restored peace of mind to many, who had feared that a Bourbon restoration would deprive them of estates formerly belonging to exiled nobles or the Church.

Having satisfactorily arranged for the internal government of the kingdom, Talleyrand now occupied himself in negotiating a favourable settlement of her western boundary. In May the First Treaty of Paris was signed, which gave to France the frontier of 1792. She thus kept Avignon and part of Alsace and Savoy, while she also received back from England the majority of the colonies which she had possessed before the war, with the exception of

Entry of
Louis
XVIII into
Paris,
May, 1814.

§ 2. The
Declaration of
St. Ouen,
May, 1814.

§ 3. The
First
Treaty of
Paris,
May, 1814.

tion of S. Lucia, Tobago, and the Mauritius in the West Indies.

The conduct of the allies, both in the terms they exacted and throughout the last campaign, was marked by the greatest moderation. So anxious were the powers to conciliate the French nation that they did not even demand the restoration of the priceless pictures and manuscripts of which Napoleon had robbed nearly every continental Court; and before the treaty had been actually signed many of the foreign troops had already begun to withdraw from France.

The most important problem now left was the re-establishment of Europe, rendered necessary by the fall of the Empire, and various suggestions were mooted at Paris, but the real decision was left to the Congress of Vienna, which met early in 1815. The Austrian capital had rarely, if ever before, witnessed such a gathering of crowned heads and famous statesmen. The Tsar, the Emperor of Austria, and Frederick William III appeared in person, with the lesser Kings of Denmark, Bavaria, and Würtemberg. England was represented by Lord Castlereagh, France by Talleyrand; and Metternich, Stein, and Hardenberg were also present, as well as politicians from nearly every minor Court in Europe.

Every one was anxious to have a voice in the distribution of the territories which had fallen into the political market. The four powers of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which had borne the brunt of the conflict, naturally expected to dictate the course of events, but they disagreed amongst themselves in the demands they intended to make.

Dissensions amongst the allies. Alexander, during the last campaign, had formed a deep friendship with Frederick William III, and the two had settled to give each other mutual support. Russia wished

§ 4. The Congress of Vienna, Nov., 1814-
June, 1815.

to receive the whole of Poland, and Prussia the kingdom of Saxony, whose ruler had fought on Napoleon's side at Leipzig and had been taken prisoner. It was hoped that Austria would be satisfied with increasing her power in Italy, but this proposal did not appease Francis II. He was very alarmed at the threat of a Hohenzollern domination of Germany, which Frederick William's scheme would have involved, and the English were equally unwilling to encourage Russian aggrandizement. The Tsar and his ally thus found themselves opposed by a combination of the other two powers.

A third enemy appeared in the person of Talleyrand, who saw in the quarrels of the Congress a means to raise France once more in the eyes of Europe. With great diplomatic skill, he posed as the protector of the lesser powers, such as Denmark, Spain, and Portugal, and became the champion of their rights. He also signed a secret treaty with Lord Castlereagh and Metternich, by which England, Austria, and France bound themselves to resist, even by arms if necessary, the extravagant claims of Alexander and Frederick William III.

This determined attitude met with some success. One half of Saxony was restored to its King, though the other half was given to Prussia, who also received back the provinces of Poland which had fallen to her share in the first two partition treaties. Russia, however, still obtained the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and pushed her boundaries across the Vistula.

The settlement of Central and Western Germany was the next question of importance, for the restriction of France to the boundaries of 1792 deprived a large stretch of territory along the left bank of the Rhine of any government at all. The Congress finally determined that this strip should be divided up into three pieces, the most

The attitude of Talleyrand.
The secret Treaty between Austria, England, and France, Jan., 1815.

The settlement of Saxony.
The settlement of Poland.

The settlement of the land on the left bank of the Rhine.

Belgium and Holland are made into one kingdom.

The German Confederacy.

northern to go to Prussia, the most southern to the King of Bavaria, and Luxembourg, now created a Grand Duchy, to the house of Orange, whose Prince was also to receive a united Belgium and Holland as a kingdom.

The Holy Roman Empire was not revived, but Germany, with the exception of Austria and Prussia, was made into a Confederacy of some thirty-eight large States on the model of Napoleon's Rhenish Confederacy. Each State was to govern itself, but was not allowed to declare war either on a foreign power or on another neighbouring principality without the leave of the Confederate Diet. All ordinary matters of dispute between the different rulers were to come before an assembly, which was to sit permanently at Frankfort for that purpose.

The most noticeable features of the new scheme of allotment were the final disappearance of the Ecclesiastical States, and the reduction of the Free Towns to the number of four—Hamburg, Frankfort, Bremen, and Lübeck. Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg remained as kingdoms, and Hanover was raised to a like dignity.

Switzerland.

Denmark.

Spain.

Switzerland was also made into a Confederacy, and its neutrality in future European wars was guaranteed by the leading powers. As Denmark had been in alliance with Napoleon, the cession of Norway to Sweden was ratified by the Congress; but Swedish Pomerania, which she had hoped to receive in exchange, was snapped up by Prussia. In Spain, the Bourbons were restored, and the return of Ferdinand VII was the signal for a complete reaction against the liberal ideas which had sprung up in the course of the struggle for freedom. All were sentenced to death as traitors who had helped in the work of reform, whether by the orders of Joseph Bonaparte or as agents of Spanish Parliaments which had been summoned by the patriots. The Inquisition, which had

been abolished, was restored, and every effort made to reduce the kingdom to its old condition of servitude.

The settlement of Italy left Austria as the supreme Italy. power in that peninsula. The loyal Tyrolese were restored to her, and she also received Venetia, Lombardy, and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. Piedmont passed once more to the King of Sardinia, and was increased by the addition of Genoa, and Pius VII returned to the Papal States.

The question of Naples presented some difficulties, for two claimants to her throne, Murat in the kingdom itself and Ferdinand IV in Sicily, urged their rights at Vienna. Some rash statements made by Murat, which could be construed into threats against the Bourbons, decided the Congress in favour of his rival, and an Austrian army invaded the south of Italy and forced him to fly from the land. Ferdinand IV returned in triumph, and was wise enough to profit by the conduct of his predecessors and to maintain most of the good laws they had established. Murat is driven out of Naples, May, 1815.

England, on the whole, received little for her share in England. the previous struggle. Her chief gains were Malta, Trinidad, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope, which she retained as the spoils of her maritime victories, but most of the colonial conquests she had made were restored. She had just concluded the Treaty of Ghent with the United States, with whom she had been at war since 1812, on account of that ever-fruitful source of quarrels, her claim to search neutral vessels. The Treaty of Ghent, Dec., 1814.

Now her interest was mainly centred in efforts to secure the abolition of the slave trade, and Lord Castle-reagh received orders to win, if possible, from the various European powers at Vienna a condemnation of this traffic in human life. The Congress regarded the demand with suspicion, for serfdom was hardly extinct in Central The abolition of the slave trade.

Europe, and the sufferings of the negroes were to most of the powers a matter of supreme indifference. Nevertheless, Castlereagh managed to obtain the grudging consent of France and Spain to the abolition of slavery during the course of the next few years, and with this he was forced to be content.

§ 5. The importance of the Congress of Vienna.

The settlement of Europe effected at Vienna was a work of the utmost importance. The aim of the Congress had been to establish a balance of power, and the result was in some cases a return to the old order of things, while in others the changes which had taken place were accepted and even further developed. Italy was made once more, as Metternich described her, 'a geographical expression,' while Germany beyond the Rhine was ruthlessly apportioned out, regardless of racial prejudices. The same want of appreciation for national feelings was shown in uniting the ever-hostile Belgium and Holland into one kingdom, and in robbing Denmark of Norway; but, on the other hand, the substitution of a German Confederacy for the old Holy Roman Empire was to destroy a mediaeval building and replace it by the foundations of a modern structure. Austria was now reduced to the position of an East-European power, while Prussia became the champion of the West. During the nineteenth century the house of Hohenzollern was to construct on the foundations laid at Vienna a modern German Empire. Russia also had emerged from the obscurity of the Middle Ages, and proved herself a continental power, who might be a source of considerable danger in the future to her neighbours.

§ 6. Napoleon escapes from Elba.

While many of the problems of the Congress were still under discussion, Metternich was one night awakened from his sleep by the news that Bonaparte had quitted Elba and returned to France. Consternation reigned at

Vienna ; the allies hastily patched up any quarrels which had arisen, and concluded a treaty of alliance by which Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England bound themselves to support Louis XVIII and declared Napoleon an outlaw who must be utterly destroyed. Armies under Blücher and Schwarzenberg were ordered to cross the Rhine and invade France, while Wellington, who had just been sent to replace Castlereagh at the Congress, set out for the Netherlands at the head of English, Hanoverian, and Belgian troops.

Treaty of alliance between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, March, 1815.

Napoleon had been induced to make this last bold struggle for freedom by the news of the growing unpopularity of the Bourbons. Louis XVIII had fulfilled the promises made in the Declaration of St. Ouen in so far that he had issued a *Charta*, which established a Constitutional Government, and he had also declared the social equality of the nobles of the Empire and of the *Ancien Régime* ; but, though the past was blotted out on paper, in reality it could not be so easily forgotten.

The unpopularity of the Bourbons in France.

The *Charta*.

The King showed a marked preference for those who had shared his exile, and *émigrés*, some of whom had fought against their country while others had rarely been under fire, replaced officers who had led their regiments to victory at Marengo, Hohenlinden, and Austerlitz. Veteran soldiers on their return from foreign prisons or the heroic defence of some German fortress, saw the tricolor degraded and the Bourbon white, which they had learnt to despise, exalted in its place. Many were disbanded on half-pay : ' Peace is made ; we have no need of brave men,' said the Comte d'Artois. It was small wonder that the hearts of these soldiers burned at the memory of their past glory and present shame, or that they thought with loyal devotion of their exiled Emperor.

At the Court, the same lack of wisdom was shown by the Bourbons. The Imperial Guard was not disbanded, but it was discredited by the revival of the Military Household of the King, which received command of the Palace and which was mainly composed of royalist nobles. The members of the old nobility flouted the Marshals of France and their wives at public receptions, and referred to the military campaigns of the Empire as so many acts of brigandage. Thus, though the nation was on the whole ready to accept quietly the present Government, both the higher and lower ranks of the army regretted each day more earnestly the glories of the past.

§ 7. Napoleon lands in France, March 1, 1815.

It was on the 1st of March that Napoleon landed near Cannes with his faithful Guard for his last campaign, which became known to after history as 'The Hundred Days'. It was a bold step that he was taking, but its results seemed to justify his wisdom. 'Citizens,' he said to the peasants whom he met on his line of march, 'I count on the support of the people because I myself am a man of the people.' He could have chosen no better words to draw the contrast between himself and the Bourbons.

At Grenoble he came face to face with some regiments of regular troops, whom their officers ordered to fire on him. Napoleon advanced alone in front of his Guards: 'Soldiers!' he exclaimed, 'which one of you will slay his Emperor?' The men in answer flung down their arms and with the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* crowded round him. After this his journey was a triumphal procession. Lyons opened her gates, and the Comte d'Artois, who was within, was forced to seek refuge in flight. Marshal Ney, who had set out from Paris assuring the Government that he would bring back Napoleon in a cage, immediately on seeing his old master joined forces with him; and

Louis XVIII, on hearing of this desertion, quitted the capital. By March 20 the exiled Emperor was established once more in the Tuilleries.

He immediately restored the imperial constitution, 1815. but he showed that he realized the mistakes of his past despotism by the issue of an *Acte Additionnel*, which promised almost the same rights and liberties that Louis XVIII had guaranteed in the Declaration of St. Ouen and his subsequent *Charta*. The new constitution was received without enthusiasm in France, and the Emperor showed that he was well aware of the general apathy of the nation towards him. When congratulated by some one on his triumphal entry into Paris, he replied, 'They have let me come as they have let the Bourbons go.'

He knew that to retain his crown he must strike his enemies before they were ready for his attack ; and, collecting his forces as quickly as he could, he set out for the Netherlands to try and prevent the union of Wellington and Blücher. His army consisted of about 124,000 men, and though under-staffed, was better than any that he had commanded since Leipzig ; for the raw levies were replaced by enthusiastic veterans, who responded loyally to the words of his proclamation, ' Soldiers ! for every brave Frenchman the moment has come to conquer or to die.'

Wellington was stationed near Brussels, and wrote at this time that 'his army, with the exception of the infantry that had fought in Spain, was the worst equipped that was ever brought together.' He had in all a little over 100,000 men, but many of these were Belgian conscripts, who had no wish to fight, and who proved rather a hindrance than a help. The only trustworthy troops were the English and Hanoverians.

The Prussians were encamped between Charleroi and

The position of Blücher.

Namur along the bank of the Sambre, and it had been settled that whichever of the allies was in difficulties should be supported by the others, but the arrival of the enemy was so unexpected that there was no time to combine forces.

Battles of Quatre Bras and Ligny, June 16, 1815.

Ney held the English in check at Quatre Bras, while Napoleon fell on the Prussians at Ligny and defeated them. Blücher, 'Old Marshal Forwards' as his men called him, was thrown from his horse and dragged off the field much shaken and bruised; but, although over seventy years of age, his courage was undaunted. He had been one of the few Prussian generals to distinguish himself in the campaign of Jena, and he had cherished, ever since that hour of his country's humiliation, an undying hatred for Napoleon. While his enemy believed that he and his army were in headlong flight along the road to Namur, and had sent General Grouchy to follow him in that direction, he had in reality retreated towards Wavre in order to assist the English, whom he guessed would be now attacked in force.

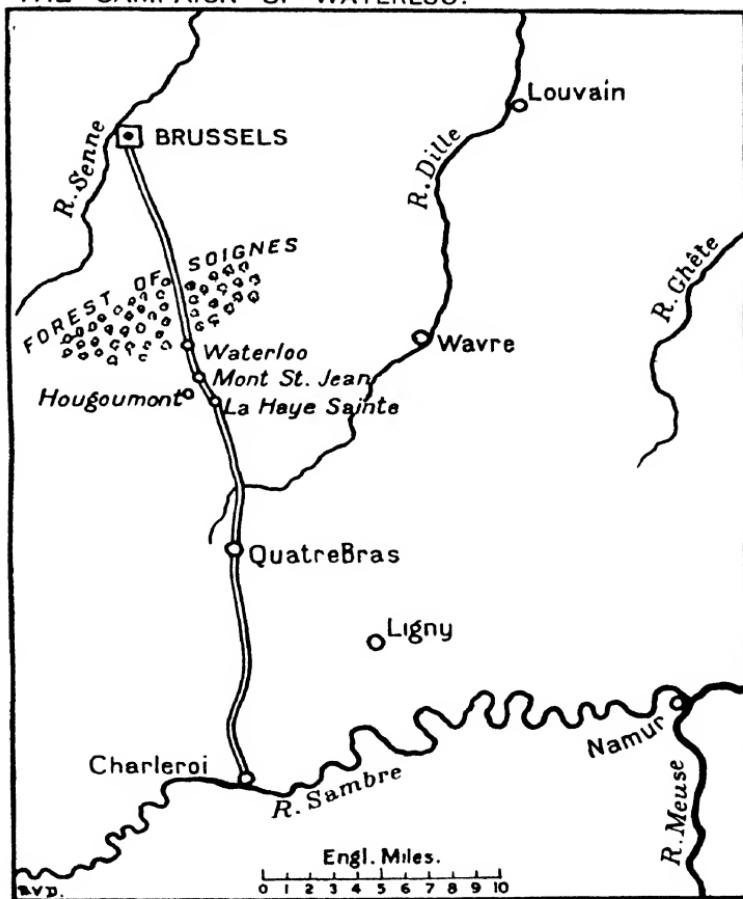
The battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Napoleon found Wellington on June 18 with his army arranged upon the slopes of Mont St. Jean, near the little village of Waterloo. In front of their lines were the farms of Hougoumont on the right and La Haye Sainte on the left, held respectively as outposts by the English Guards and some picked Hanoverians. Behind the crest of the hill, out of sight of the enemy, was drawn up the reserve.

The French lines took up a position on the opposite slope, and the battle began about 11.30 A.M. with a feigned assault on Hougoumont, but the real attack was made shortly after upon the English left, where some heavy columns under D'Erlon hurled themselves on the infantry opposite to them. The struggle was fierce on

both sides, but a sudden charge of two brigades of English cavalry bore the French backwards in confusion down the hill.

THE CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO.



Napoleon now determined to make an effort to break through the English centre by a tremendous cavalry charge between the two farms. The majority of the

Belgians fled, but for five hours the English and Hanoverian infantry, drawn up in squares, repulsed the almost incessant avalanche of the veteran cavalry of France, which fell on them on all sides as they gained the slope. In the intervals between the charges, the French guns poured their fire into the shattered squares and the sharpshooters, taking cover, picked off their victims. 'Will those English never show us their backs?' said the Emperor to Soult. 'I fear', replied his general, 'that they will be cut to pieces first.'

Towards evening, when the walls had been almost levelled with the ground, La Haye Sainte was carried and a breach was made in the English line. At this moment the Prussians appeared from the direction of Wavre, and Napoleon was forced to send some of his most needed troops to keep them at bay, but he still had left his 5,000 Old Guard, the flower of his army, and these were directed in a last desperate assault on the English lines. The steady fire of Maitland's brigade, however, drove them back, and a charge of some English cavalry, which had been up till now held in reserve, swept them away. The defeat became a rout and only some companies of the Guard remained, holding the pursuers in check, until Napoleon, who had in vain endeavoured to rally his men, was at length induced to escape. Then they too joined the bands of straggling fugitives whom the Prussian cavalry remorselessly hunted down throughout the night.

Arrival of
Blücher
and the
Prussians.

Napoleon
goes to
Paris and
abdicates.

Napoleon
surrenders
to the
English.

Napoleon fled to Paris, but he realized his cause was lost, and on June 22 he abdicated in favour of his son the little King of Rome. He then made an attempt to sail for America from Rochefort; but, finding the coast watched, he surrendered to the captain of an English vessel, the *Bellerophon*. He requested the Government

to be allowed to settle in one of the Midland Counties, Napoleon but it was felt that the man whom Elba could not cage ^{goes to} St. Helena, would hardly settle down contentedly as an English ^{Aug. 8,} country gentleman. The prison finally chosen for him ^{1815.} was St. Helena in the Atlantic, many miles from the South African coast, and with his departure for this island 'the Great Shadow' which had hung over Europe for so many years at length vanished.

The Congress of Vienna once more resumed its negotiations; and in August, Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, by which they agreed 'that the principles of Christianity should be in future the foundation of European Governments.' This rather curious document was received with suspicion or mirth by the different statesmen of Europe. Lord Castle-reagh thought that the Tsar, who was its author, must have suddenly gone mad, while Metternich sarcastically described it as 'verbiage'. It was in reality an expression of the religious side of Alexander's nature. He had been deeply moved by the invasion of Russia, and believed that his country had been saved by the hand of Providence. Henceforth he thought himself God's agent to punish Napoleon for his sins, and the Holy Alliance was to him the pledge that his work was done and that Europe should henceforth have peace.

In July, 1815, Wellington and Blücher entered Paris and the Bourbons were once more restored to their throne by foreign arms; but this time both they and the allies were less inclined to show mercy to those who had rebelled against them. By the Second Treaty of Paris the frontiers of France were fixed as they had stood in 1789, save that she retained Avignon, and thus the conquests of the revolutionary wars were with one exception lost. She was forced to pay a large indemnity for the expenses of

Ney is
shot,
Dec. 7,
1815.

§ 12. The
importance
of Napo-
leon.

the last campaign, and to restore the pictures and paintings which had been spared at the first restoration. Her chief fortresses on her northern and eastern boundaries were also surrendered to the allies for five years, as a guarantee of future peace. Louis XVIII revenged himself for these indignities by proscribing most of the men still alive who had played a leading part in the history of France since the execution of his brother. Amongst other victims, Ney, 'the bravest of the brave,' was shot on December 7.

Napoleon died at St. Helena on May 5, 1821. His last years were spent in writing a justification of his career, which he declared to have been 'untarnished by crime or corruption'. His campaigns had all been waged to bring liberty to those he conquered. Italy and Germany had received good governments for bad, and Spain but for her obstinacy would have met with a like fate. He prophesied that the English would one day weep to think they had destroyed his power at Waterloo.

Much arrogance and absurdity was mingled in this *Apologia*, but there was an underlying vein of truth. Napoleon had not, as his eulogists would have men believe, been the incarnation of the spirit of liberty; but, under his reign of despotism many of the best fruits of the revolution had matured. The Bourbons were restored, but the *Ancien Régime* was not, and that it never could be was largely due to the Corsican Bonaparte.

Under his Eagles, the sense of nationality, born at Valmy in the defence of the frontier, had developed into a force before which the artificial barriers of European society fell to the ground. Class prejudices were trampled under foot and model armies destroyed, and though statesmen might deplore this patriotic spirit as the source of anarchy, they could not but acknowledge its power

and accept it as a factor to be reckoned with in future politics.

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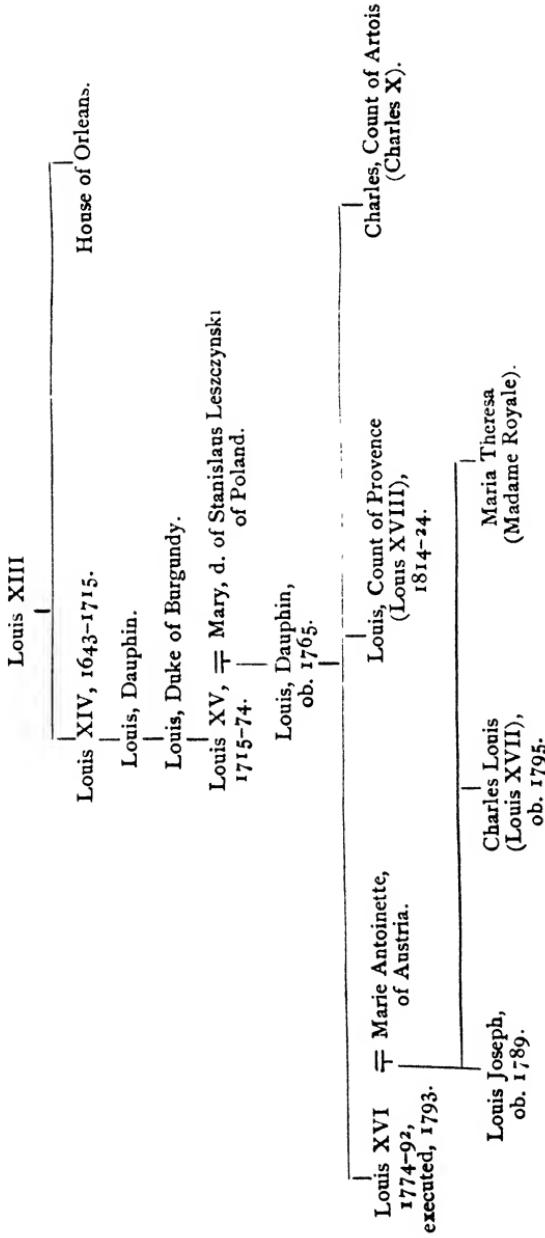
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THE HOUSE OF BOURBON IN FRANCE



THE HOUSE OF BOURBON IN SPAIN

Philip V.

Ferdinand VI.

Charles IV, $\overline{\text{P}}$ Marie Louise
1748-1808. of Parma.Ferdinand VII,
1808 (dep.), 1813-33.

Philip V.

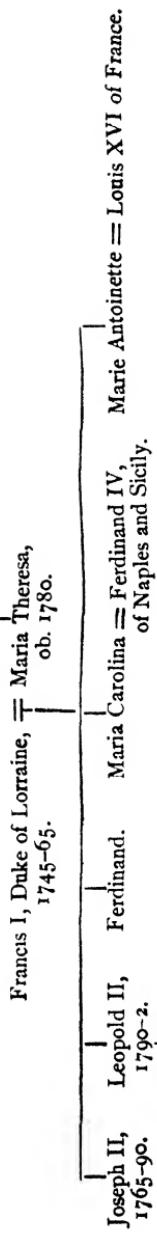
Charles III,
1759-88.Ferdinand IV = Maria Carolina
of Naples and of Austria.
Sicily, 1759-1825.

THE HOUSE OF BONAPARTE

Charles Bonaparte $\overline{\text{P}}$ Letitia Pianof'lini.Joseph = Marie
King of
Naples,
1806-8,
King of
Spain,
1808-14.
General
Beauharnais.Ferdinand IV = Maria Carolina
of Naples and of Austria.
Sicily, 1759-1825.(1) Josephine = Napoleon $\overline{\text{P}}$ (2) Marie Louisa
of Austria.
ob. 1821.Lucien.
Jérôme, King of = Catherine of
Westphalia 1807-14.
Württemberg.Louis, King = Hortense de
Holland, Beauharnais.
1806-10.Caroline = Joachim Murat,
King of Naples,
1808-14.Eugène, Viceroj
of Italy, 1803-14.
Hortense = Louis Bona-
parte, King
of Holland.Napoleon II,
King of Rome.

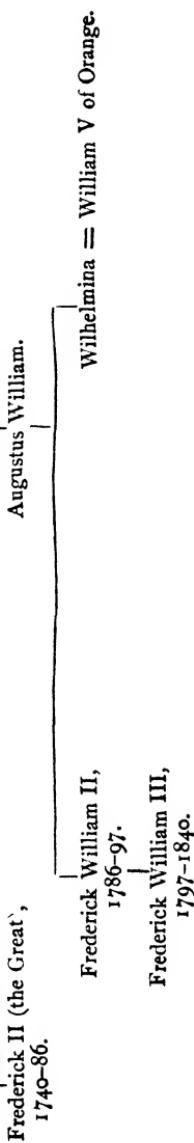
THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE IN AUSTRIA

The Emperor Charles VI.

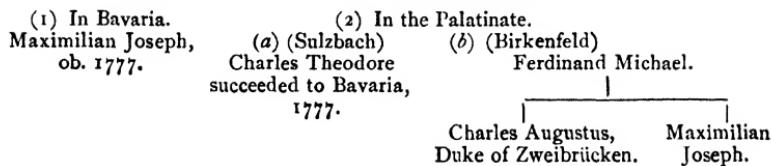


THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN IN PRUSSIA

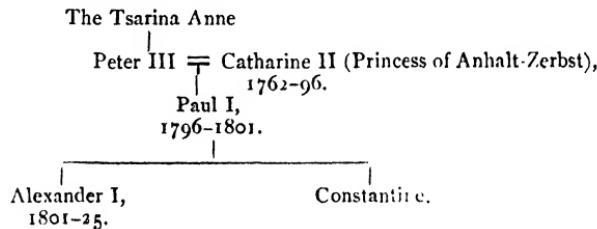
Frederick William I



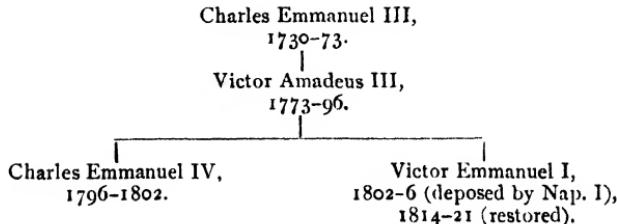
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THE HOUSE OF ROMANOFF



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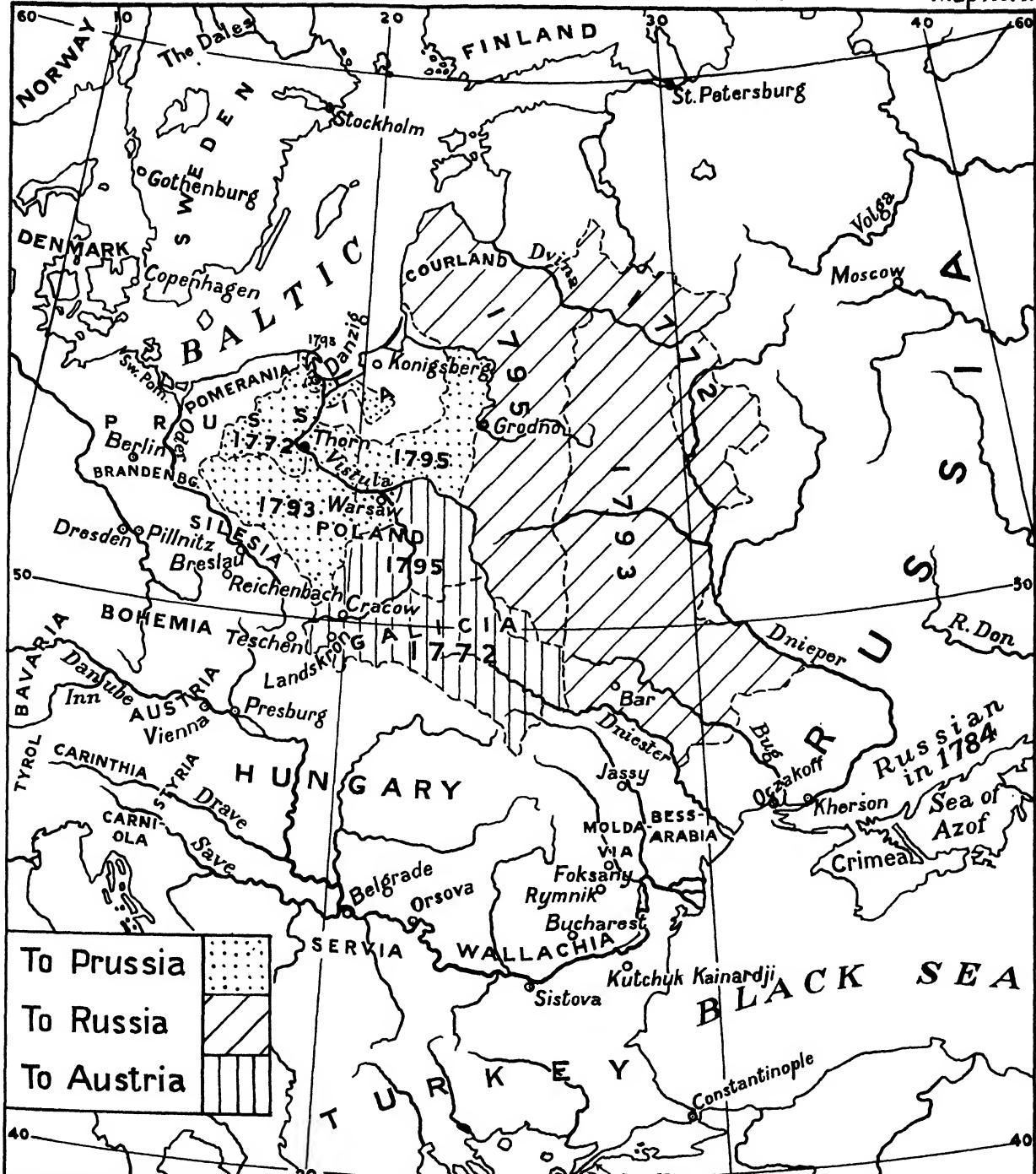
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Map to illustrate
the Partitions of Poland and the Russo-Turkish Wars.

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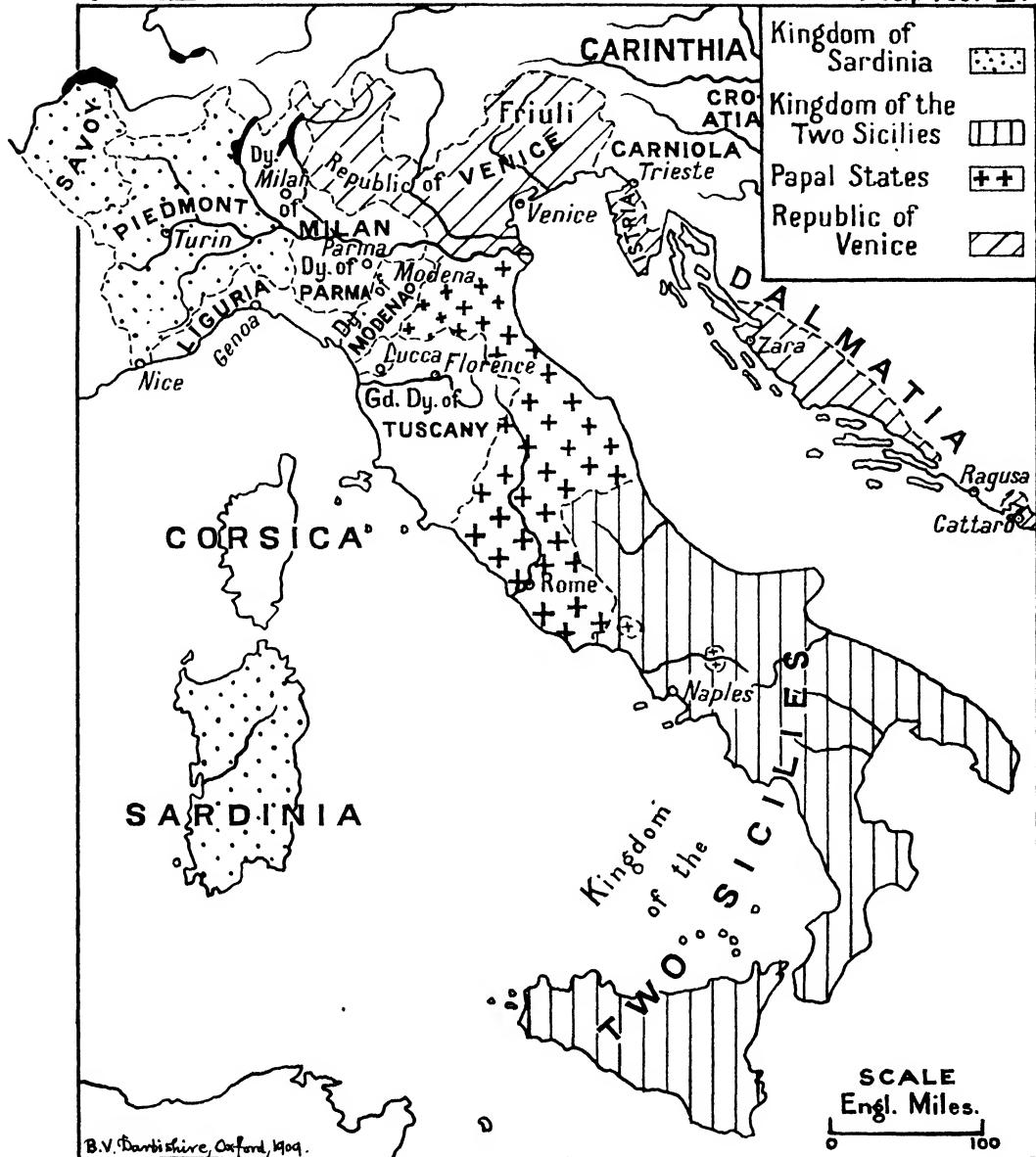


B. V. Barbshire, Oxford, 1909.

SCALE Engl. Miles. 0 100 200

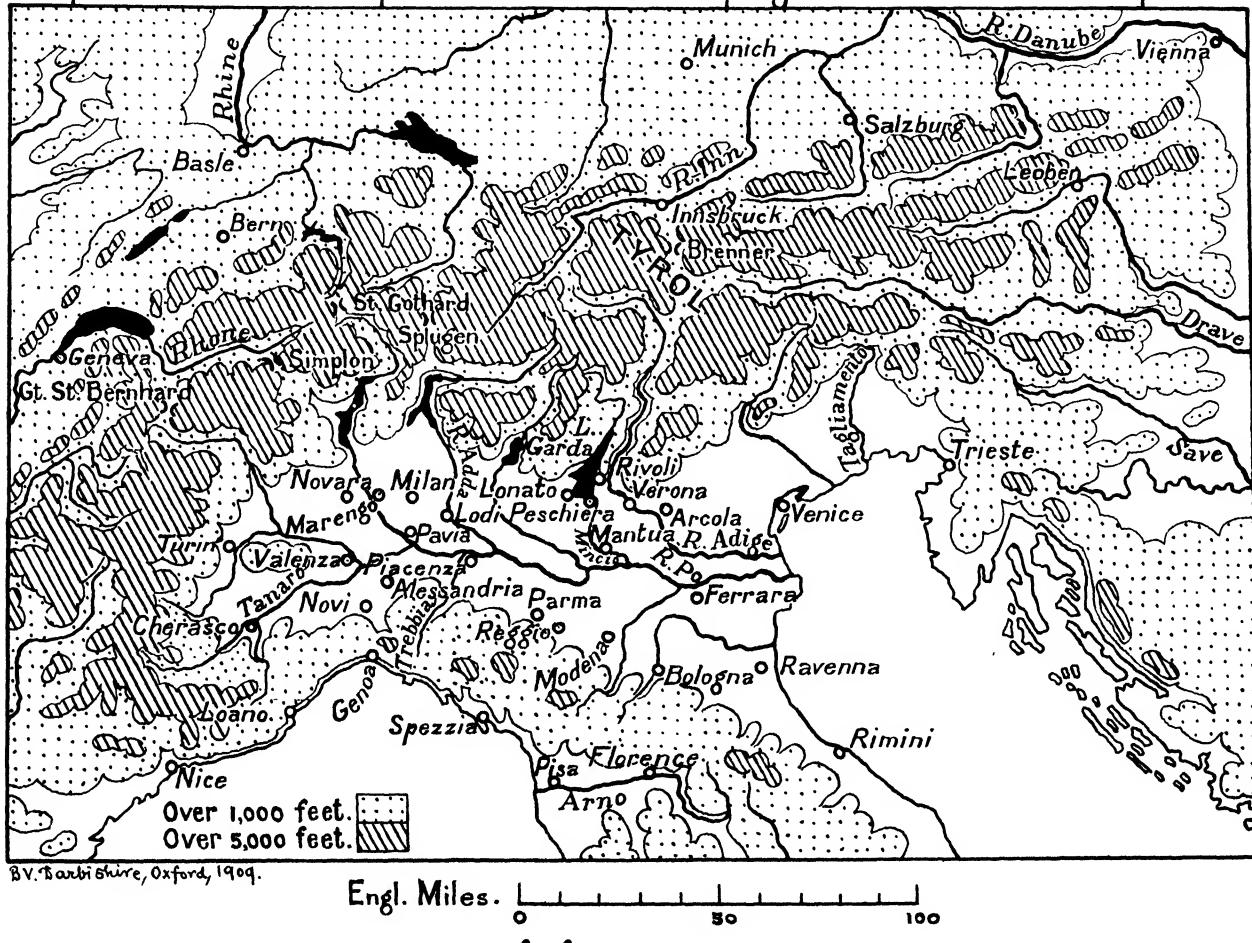
ITALY in 1789

Map No. 2.



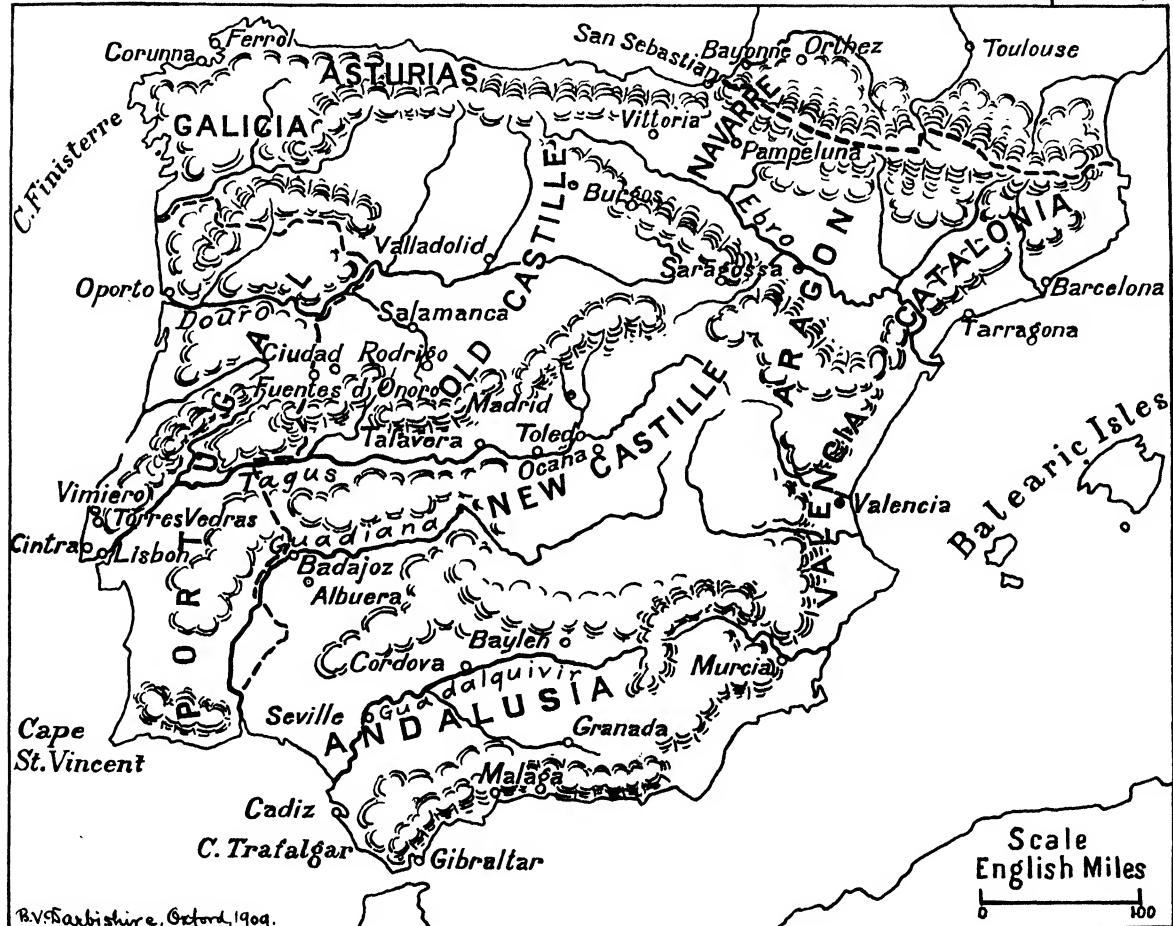
Map to illustrate Napoleon's Italian Campaigns.

Map No. 3.



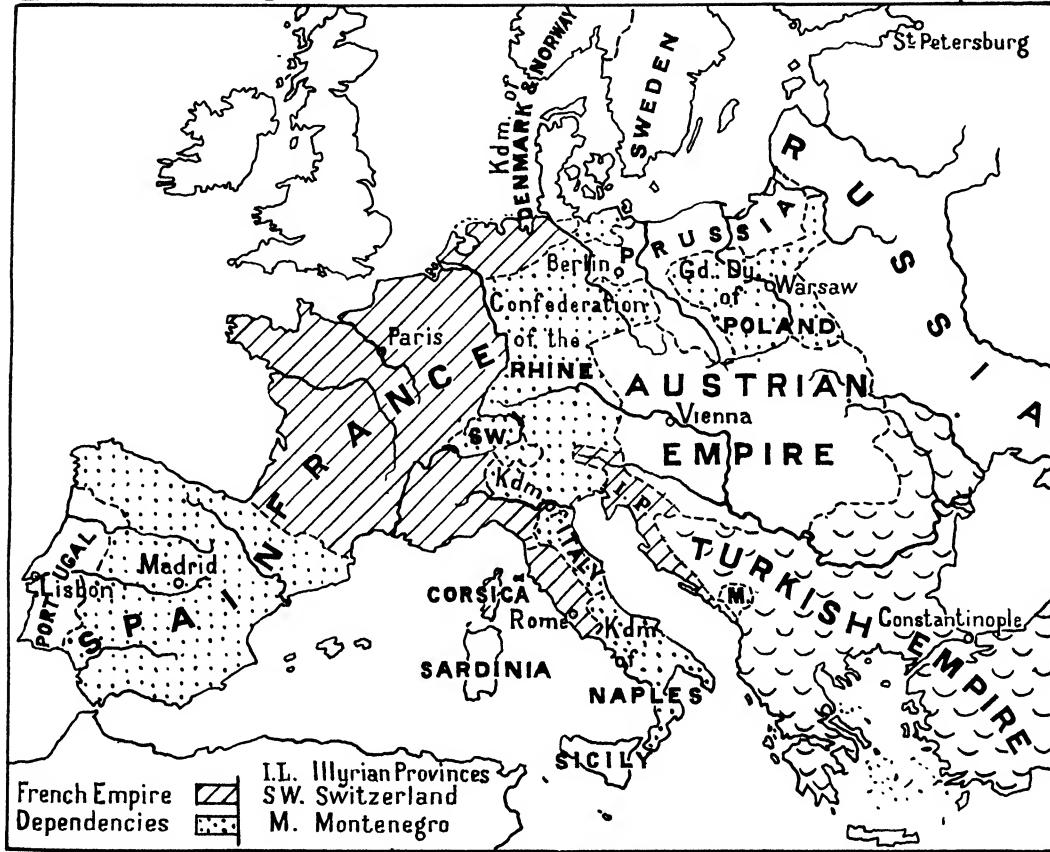
To illustrate the Peninsular War.

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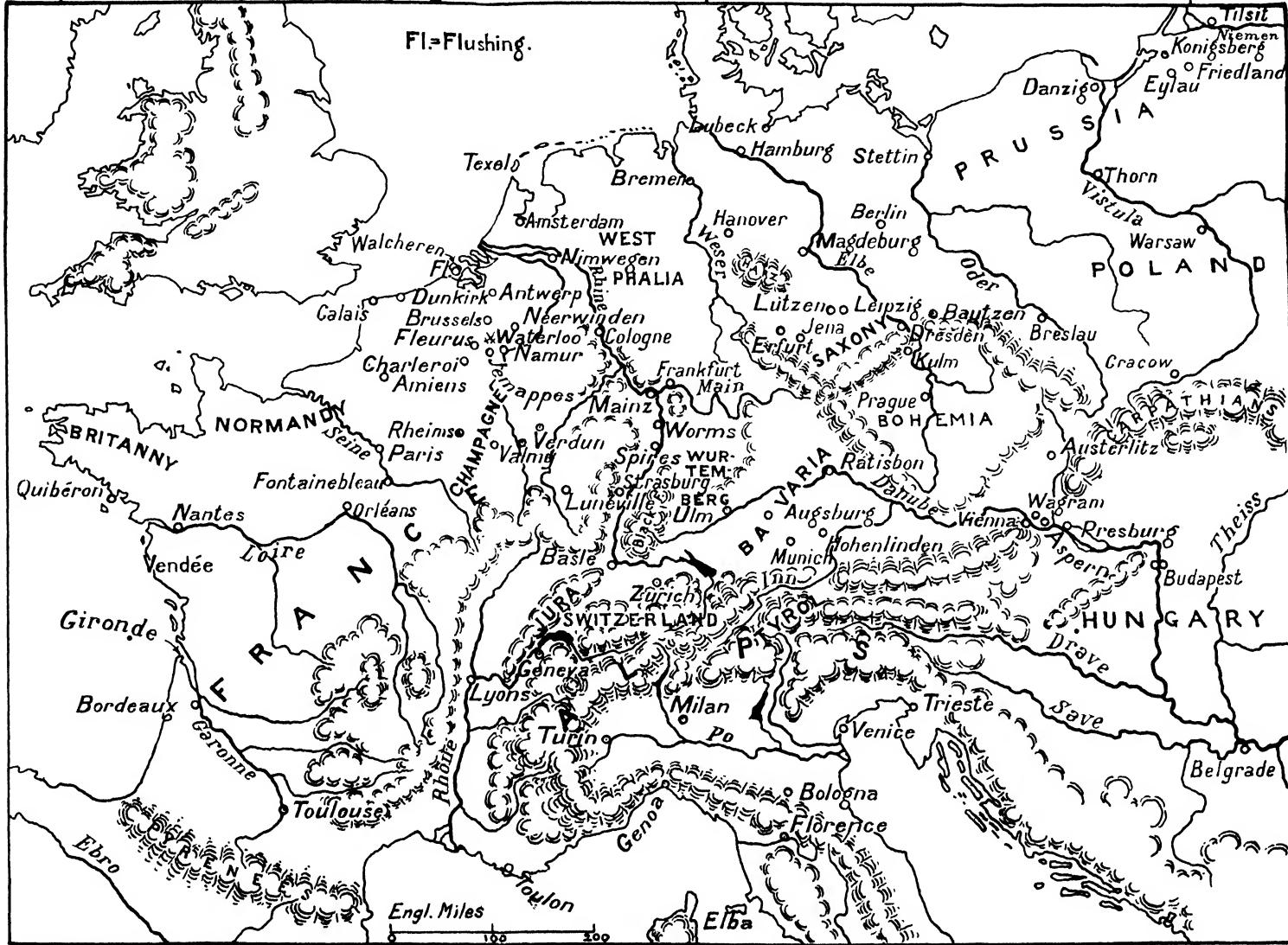
EUROPE in 1812

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Map to illustrate the Campaigns in Central Europe.

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EUROPE in 1815

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